AFRICAN STUDIES
(Formerly Bantu Studies)
VOLUME 17, No. 3, 1958

# THE MODERN FAMILY IN SOCIAL-ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE*

M. G. MARWICK

*SYNOPSIS*

*A review of what light social anthropology throws on the problems confronting the modern family serves to illustrate the part this discipline can play in the advancement of the social sciences as a whole, and to show its progressively closer association with general sociology.*

*Many prevailing misconceptions about the nature of marriage and the family among non-literate peoples may be traced to mid-nineteenth-century unilinear evolutionism, which, despite the advances made by modern social anthropology, still maintains a remarkable grip on the lay mind.*

*The conceptual aids of social anthropology enable one to appreciate the contrasts that exist between the symmetrical, 'multilineal' kinship system of the English-speaking nations and the markedly unilineal (i.e., patrilineal or matrilineal) systems of many non-literate peoples. The former is associated with a highly symmetrical form of marriage which brings into being a type of elementary family that is potentially independent of its kinship matrix, and consequently well adapted to the conditions of high mobility and social autonomy that have prevailed in our society, especially since the industrial revolution. The increasing independence of the modern family has been accompanied by a generalization of rôles within it, so that the modern child has but two parents and a few siblings with whom to form the whole gamut of social relationships that his counterpart in many non-literate societies forms with a wide and socially diversified body of kinsmen.*

It is probably not out of place for a social anthropologist to preface a lecture with a ritual observance, and I should particularly like on this occasion to indulge in some metaphorical ancestor worship. Although my chair is new to this University, my subject is not. Social anthropology has in fact been taught here for some thirty-five years; and my predecessors as teachers of it, who have been lecturers or senior lecturers in what was formerly the Department of Bantu Studies, have both in their work here and in their subsequent careers brought great distinction to our university. I count myself fortunate in knowing all of them, Drs Hoernlé, Schapera, Richards, Kuper and Jeffreys. Dr A. Winifred Hoernlé is the authority on the Hottentots and is one of the greatest living teachers of my subject. The Kriges fittingly dedicated their book[1] to her as 'the mother of social anthropology in South Africa'. She trained outstanding scholars such as Professor Max Gluckman, Dr Eileen Krige, Dr Hilda Kuper and Dr Ellen Hellmann, and has been a source of inspiration and help to virtually everyone who has contributed to social anthropology in Southern Africa. The second of my predecessors, Dr I. Schapera, is well known for his compilations of South African ethnography and as the authority on

*Inaugural lecture delivered 8 May 1958 by M. G. Marwick, first Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and Head of the Department of Social Anthropology and African Administration. The author is grateful to Professor A. C. Partridge, Mr P. Birkinshaw and Mr Julius Lewin for giving him the benefit of their comments on a draft of this lecture.

[1]E. Jensen Krige and J. D. Krige, *The Realm of a Rain Queen*, London, 1943.

the Tswana tribes. After many years as Radcliffe-Brown's successor as Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Cape Town, he has become Professor of Applied Anthropology in the University of London, thus, like Professor Gluckman, occupying one of the four chairs in anthropology and cognate subjects held in the United Kingdom by South Africans. My third predecessor, Dr Audrey I. Richards, is well known for her interest in food production and diet among non-literate peoples, especially the Northern Rhodesian Bemba, and more recently for having established and piloted through its formative years the East African Institute of Social Research. The fourth, Dr Hilda Kuper, whose work on the Swazi won her an international reputation, has recently been directing her talents to the study of an almost untouched field, the social organization of Natal Indians. I may mention, incidentally, that her husband, Dr Leo Kuper, is the Professor of Sociology in the University of Natal under whom I was privileged to serve as senior lecturer before taking up my appointment here. My immediate predecessor, Dr M. D. W. Jeffreys, is a scholar of great erudition and versatility. His knowledge is encyclopedic and his list of publications immense. It is fortunate for me that both he and Dr Hoernlé are in their retirement living in Johannesburg. I have already formed the habit of seeking their guidance, and they are always generous in their help.

My department, which is responsible for the teaching of social anthropology and native administration, has separated from the former Department of Bantu Studies. The remainder of that department, now known as the Department of Bantu Languages, is presided over by Professor D. T. Cole who was Professor C. M. Doke's successor as head of the composite department before it divided. It is an appropriate moment, I feel, to thank these two linguisticians, Emeritus Professor Doke and Professor Cole, for having in the past taken administrative responsibility for what are now my two subjects, and to assure Professor Cole that, though there was never any anti-colonialism on their part, his decision to move for their present independence has engendered the kind of positive feeling and wish for continued co-operation that, to the surprise of many, now links recently independent countries such as India and Ghana to the United Kingdom.

* * * *

And now to the subject of my lecture, 'The Modern Family in Social-Anthropological Perspective'. First of all let me explain why I have chosen it. We social scientists as a part of our training have to develop the habit of being clear—some would say banal—about our assumptions. If I may now indulge this habit of making explicit the things most people take for granted, I would interpret this occasion as a standardized social situation in which the employers of the new professor, i.e. both his immediate employer, the University, and his ultimate employer, the public, exercise their right to hear from him precisely what he is in the habit of professing. This situation sometimes drives the new incumbent of a chair either to present a condensed outline of the subject he teaches and tries to advance by his research or to give an account of his special interests. The first course has the danger of leading into a field far too wide to be disposed of in a single evening; while the second may yield a subject that gives the public the impression that the professor, whom they regard as absent-minded anyway, is one-track-minded as well.

My first inclination was to give a lecture of the second kind, and tell you something of what has been my main research preoccupation during the last few years, the sociology of witchcraft and sorcery. But I have resisted this inclination not only for the reason I have hinted at but also because my colleague at Rhodes University dealt with this very subject in a most competent manner in his inaugural lecture only a few years ago.[2]

Thus, instead of giving you either a general review of my subject or an account of my

[2]P. Mayer, *Witches*, Grahamstown, 1954.

research hobby, I have compromised, and propose to speak on a topic which, while of reasonably limited scope, nevertheless serves to illustrate my conception of the rôle of social anthropology in relation to the other social sciences, especially general sociology, and of my estimate of its potentiality for use in the modern world. To be more specific, I should say that I have chosen to speak on the comparative sociology of the family, for three reasons. In the first place this subject will serve to illustrate the fact that social anthropology is something more than an antiquarian study dealing with the odds and ends of strange customs and beliefs of exotic tribes, and that it has a positive contribution to make to the understanding and the eventual adjustment of the confused social relationships of our time. In particular it provides us with precedents not to be found within our social structure. In doing this it shows that, while the so-called primitives may be behind us in sheer material production and scale of organization, they often have much to teach us in the sphere of morals and social common sense. We can more fully appreciate the importance of the rôle social anthropology plays in thus widening our social horizons, if we remember that in the social sciences it is usually impossible to carry out those deliberately planned and carefully controlled and observed events known in the natural sciences as experiments. We are fortunate, however, in having had Nature perform for us, as it were, an enormous number of 'experiments' in human living. The main task of the social anthropologist in the advancement of social science is to observe and describe the effects of these 'experiments' and to interpret their significance for propositions regarding human behaviour in general.

This brings me to my second reason for choosing this subject. It will reveal a modern trend, viz., the merging of social anthropology and sociology; these disciplines no longer have separate theoretical systems, and the distinction between them can be maintained only on the basis of approach and field, social anthropology being regarded as the comparative branch of sociology.

My third reason for choosing to make a comprehensive survey of the family is that this may help to dispel some of the popular misconceptions that prevail regarding the nature of the family among non-literate peoples and the probable 'origin' of our own type of family.

* * * *

The family as a social group, and marriage as the charter or unwritten constitution for such a group, have long been the concern of social anthropologists. So much so, that many of the present-day popular misconceptions about family and marriage among non-literate peoples exist not because earlier generations of anthropologists were inactive but rather because, given their inadequate evidence, they were over-active and unduly dogmatic. In particular those of the mid-nineteenth century, many of whom had been inspired by Darwin's great discoveries regarding the evolution of living forms, proceeded to develop an evolutionary explanation for the social variety to be found among contemporary peoples. To adopt an evolutionary approach was quite justified; for societies, like organisms, form temporal continuities and are subject to evolutionary development. But any such approach, if uncritical and unscientific, was fraught with danger. Writers of this period, while they had the commendable habit of starting by posing hypotheses, had the deplorable one of being so wedded to these hypotheses that they tended to select from the anecdotes of travellers and other naïve observers only those instances that supported them. Consequently they put forward a set of rival though related theories, supporting them with an emphasis that betrayed emotional attachment rather than reasoned argument. To cut a long story short, they advanced an evolutionary scheme which placed their own society at the apex, and non-Western societies at varying levels of development below it. To those societies occupying the lower rungs of this hypothetical ladder they applied the term 'primitive', a term which is still sometimes used to describe the societies that the social anthropologist, as opposed to the

sociologist, economist, psychologist, etc., studies.

The place occupied by marriage and the family in the picture of social development painted for us by the social evolutionists was naturally an important one. The details varied from one writer to another, but the general scheme that emerged was one in which primitive sexual promiscuity evolved through a series of stages, such as group marriage, matriarchy, patriarchy, associated with polyandry and polygyny according to the writer's tastes or the logical necessities of his pet scheme, to the dizzy heights of the monogamous Victorian family.

I shall not waste time by demolishing this picturesque theory. All I need say is that not only modern social anthropology, which now conducts its own field work instead of relying on the anecdotes of adventurers and explorers, but also animal sociology has shown it to be untenable. While social evolution undoubtedly occurs, it occurs very differently in different places. There can be no single scheme for the whole of mankind, and nowhere is there evidence for the particular type of development the social evolutionists believed in. With the decline of unilinear evolutionary theories the term 'primitive' has become obsolete except, possibly, when used by human palaeontologists and prehistoric archaeologists in reference to the remains of men and modes of life that their researches uncover and interpret. In social anthropology, which is more interested in living than in extinct societies, the term 'primitive' is gradually being displaced by the term 'non-literate'.

I have devoted considerable space to the imaginative but erroneous theory of unilinear social evolution; but I have done this for the reason that its dead hand still rests heavily upon us. Some of you, for instance, may find it hard to believe that sexual promiscuity and group marriage are not actually established phases of human development at all, but almost entirely the figments of Victorian imaginations, many of them cultivated by arm-chair speculation rather than by the discipline of first-hand experience of field work. Similarly, some of you may be surprised to learn that we share monogamy, which the evolutionists regarded as a later or higher phase, not only with some of the simplest of contemporary societies but even with some of our primate cousins. Or again, you may be so used to the idea of primitive matriarchy, or rule by women, that you will find it hard to accept the fact that matriarchy occurs so rarely, if it occurs at all—much depends on definition—that it is most unlikely to have been the important intermediate phase that some of the evolutionists believed it to be. It would appear in fact that one of the nearest approximations to matriarchy man has ever known is the suburban matriarchy[3] of our own times, one of the variants of the modern family in which the combined effect of a democratic ideology and the absence at work for long periods of the male breadwinner is to confer on the wife and mother the rôle of taking decisions that involve the whole family.

From what I have just said it will be clear that Victorian anthropology, which is unfortunately the kind of anthropology with the strongest grip on the popular mind, does not give us a proper perspective for an examination of the modern family. If we now turn to more recent findings, what perspectives do we get? At first sight the data provided by modern field work and the theoretical systems based on these data are chaotic and overwhelming. The rich variety of modes of human social organization seems to attest more to the versatility of human inventive genius than to any clear lines of development.

So complex is this field of Nature's experimental designs in human living that to venture there without map or compass is to risk getting lost. Let us therefore be sure what we are looking for, and let us use those of the conceptual aids of social anthropology the proper use of which is easily learned. Since we are to view our family against the corresponding social units found in non-literate societies, we should be clear regarding

[3]Cf. Florence Kluckhohn cited by Talcott Parsons, "The Social Structure of the Family" in *The Family: Its Function and Destiny* edited by Ruth Nanda Anschen, New York, 1949, p. 181.

what we mean by 'family'. In English as in certain other languages this term or its equivalent has a wide area of meaning. For instance, I may say that my family is in Johannesburg; for that is where my wife and children live; or in Pietermaritzburg; for that is where my mother and sister are; or I may say that my family is scattered over South Africa, especially Natal; and by this I may mean relatives on both sides, i.e., reckoned through both my father and my mother, or I may mean only those of my paternal relatives who share my surname. To clarify the chaotic situation that this example illustrates, social scientists now make a number of distinctions. Firstly they distinguish between the small group of husband, wife and children, and the more composite group in which this narrower one is included with a wider circle of kin. They call the former the biological, conjugal, immediate, elementary or nuclear family (for convenience I shall use the term 'elementary family'); and they call the latter, i.e., the wider group, the extended family, or, where it shares one roof or one commissariat (as in India and China, for instance) the joint family. More often than not an extended family has as its nucleus a group of consanguineal or blood relatives known as a lineage, which, in turn, in many societies is a segment of a clan. I shall return to this point later.

Even when we have distinguished the elementary from the extended family there is still the problem of designating clearly the two elementary families to which every married adult belongs, or has belonged, the one into which he was born or adopted and the one that he has set up on marriage. The first, since it has given him his outlook on life, is termed his family of orientation; and the second, since it sets the stage for his part in human reproduction, is termed his family of procreation.

If we are to avoid getting lost in what I have called the complex field of Nature's experimental designs in human living, we must move carefully from the known to the unknown. Let us now test our progress by seeing whether we can distinguish the two types of elementary family in the complex network of our own kinship system (Fig. 1). (I should mention, incidentally, that, when I say 'our kinship system', I am doing so as an English-speaking gentile and am referring to what may be called the English-American system. I have not studied in detail either the Afrikaans or the Jewish system. I look forward to learning more of them, and my students are eager to teach me.) In the central, circular part of Fig. 1 are to be found the elementary families of orientation and of procreation of a person whom we are using as a point of reference and whom we anthropologists rather quaintly call Ego. Ego's family of orientation consists of Ego and his father, mother, brother and sister; and his family of procreation consists of Ego and his wife and their children.

In our society the elementary family usually forms a separate social unit. Thus, on marriage, Ego usually leaves his family of orientation to live with his wife, and in due course, their children, in a place of their own. If, as sometimes occurs, Ego and his family of procreation live, not on their own, but with Ego's or his wife's blood relatives, or perhaps with their married descendants, the domestic group so formed may be called an extended or possibly a joint family, and may be classified according to the link between the elementary family we are taking as our point of departure and the extension. Thus, regarding Ego as the father and his wife as the mother of this nuclear group, we can speak of patrilineal extension if, say, Ego's father is included; of patrilateral extension if his brother or sister is; of matrilateral extension if Ego's wife's sister is included—and so on.

In our society it is relatively rare to find members of an extended family living in the same household, and where this occurs the extensions are numerically small, consisting, perhaps, of a widowed parent or a brother or sister of Ego or his wife. We find that, in contrast to this, in most non-Western societies it is the extended rather than the elementary family that comprises the domestic group; and, when we seek in these societies the social unit corresponding to our

# MULTILINEAL DESCENT

## (ENGLISH-AMERICAN KINSHIP)

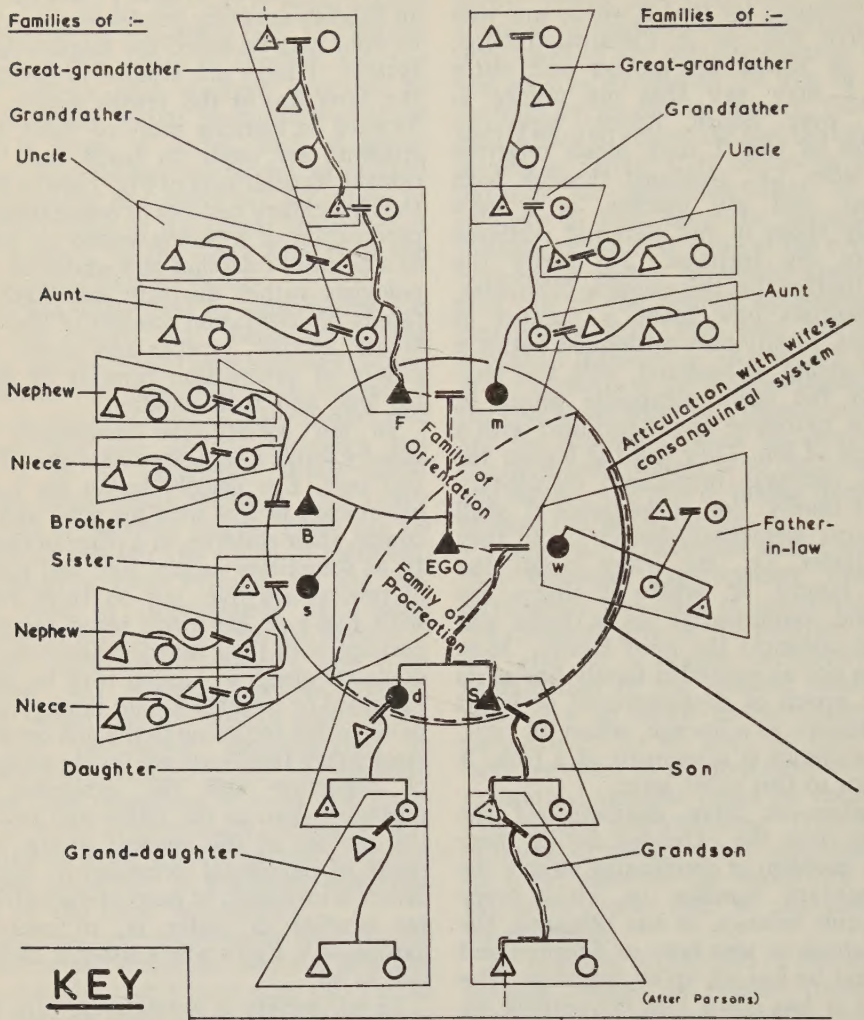



FIGURE 1

modern, independent elementary family, we can find it only in abstraction and study it only by tearing it from its social context. It forms but one of the many elementary families clustered together in an extended family, a group whose dimensions are defined according to some principle such as common descent.

But before I can go any further in this direction I must offer you a little more systematic help across the morass of kinship technicalities. This I can possibly best do by cataloguing and exemplifying some of the ways in which societies differ in modes of social organization that are relevant to a discussion of marriage and the family. Modern anthropological field work has made it clear that societies differ in a number of respects, such as the mode of reckoning descent, the location of authority, emphasis on consanguineal as against conjugal ties, the number of spouses allowed on either side of marriage, the place of residence on marriage—and so on.

As to descent, some societies, like the Zulu, reckon it through males, i.e., through fathers and sons (I am now disregarding the complexities brought about by the ranking of wives in polygynous marriages); others, like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia or the Cewa of East Central Africa, reckon it through mothers and sisters; some, like the Herero of South-West Africa, through both males and females; and others, again, like our own society, have a tendency to trace it through either males or females according to the advantage or the whim of the moment. Thus we may describe descent as *unilineal* if it follows one line consistently (Fig. 2). There are thus two unilineal types, the *patrilineal* and the *matrilineal*. Both are shown in Fig. 2. For the moment concentrating on the black bands of Ego and his brother and sister, we can trace their descent from lineal ancestors, such as their father and their father's father, and can note their affiliation by common patrilineal descent to certain of their collateral relatives, such as their father's father's brother (one of their great uncles by our rather indiscriminate system of reckoning), their father's sister (whom we should call aunt) and their father's

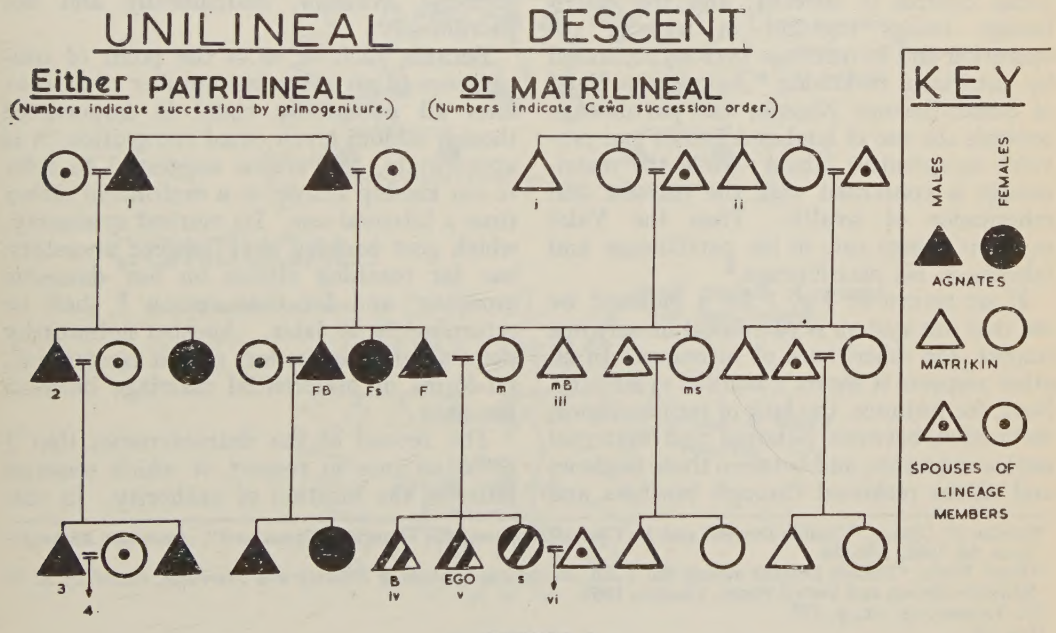



FIGURE 2

brother's son (whom we should call first cousin). All these persons—and others shaded in the diagram—belong to the same patrilineal or agnatic descent group, a body of kinsmen known as a patrilineage, which is defined by common descent through males. Similarly, concentrating on the white bands of Ego and his siblings we can trace their descent—on the other side of the diagram—from lineals, such as their mother and mother's mother, and can note their affiliations through common matrilineal descent with collaterals, such as their mother's mother's brother (great uncle), their mother's sister (aunt) and mother's sister's son (cousin). All these persons—and others shown in white in the diagram—belong to the same descent group defined by kinship through females, i.e., to the same matrilineage.

I mentioned that some societies, e.g. the Herero, reckon descent through both lines. What generally happens in these double-descent systems is that the patrilineage is recognized for one type of function and the matrilineage for another. Thus among the Herero the patrilineage is the basis for the division of society into groups through which social control is effected; and the matrilineage brings together in friendly co-operation and in marriage persons separated by patrilineal reckoning.[4] Among the Yakö of South-Eastern Nigeria, the patrilineage controls the use of land and houses and provides co-operative labour; while the matrilineage is concerned with the transfer and inheritance of wealth. Thus the Yakö say that a man eats in his patrilineage and inherits in his matrilineage.[5]

If we return to Fig. 1 for a moment we see that our system is patrilineal in only one respect, the inheritance of surnames. In all other respects it shows a marked symmetry. Note, for instance, the lack of terminological distinction between paternal and maternal uncles and aunts, and between those nephews and nieces reckoned through brothers and those through sisters.[6] When we reckon our descent, there is roughly an even chance of our choosing in the parental generation the father's or the mother's line. In the grandparents' generation the choice is no longer between the male and the female line, but among the four distinct lines of the grandparents; and the number of lines from which we may choose doubles with each ascending generation. Each of us is thus the point of convergence of an enormous number of lines, and for any specific purpose other than normal surname inheritance, our ancestry literally zig-zags back into the past. Thus a friend of mine claims the doubtful, and I suspect not very rare, distinction of being a descendant of Charles II; but in establishing this claim he does not stick to one line consistently. His surname is neither Stuart, nor that of the mistress of that virile monarch through whom he claims his descent. Even the principle of patrilineal surname inheritance occasionally gives place to what are regarded as more important considerations, such as the continuing identity of a dynasty. Thus the present heir to the throne of the Commonwealth has inherited his surname, Windsor, matrilineally and not patrilineally.

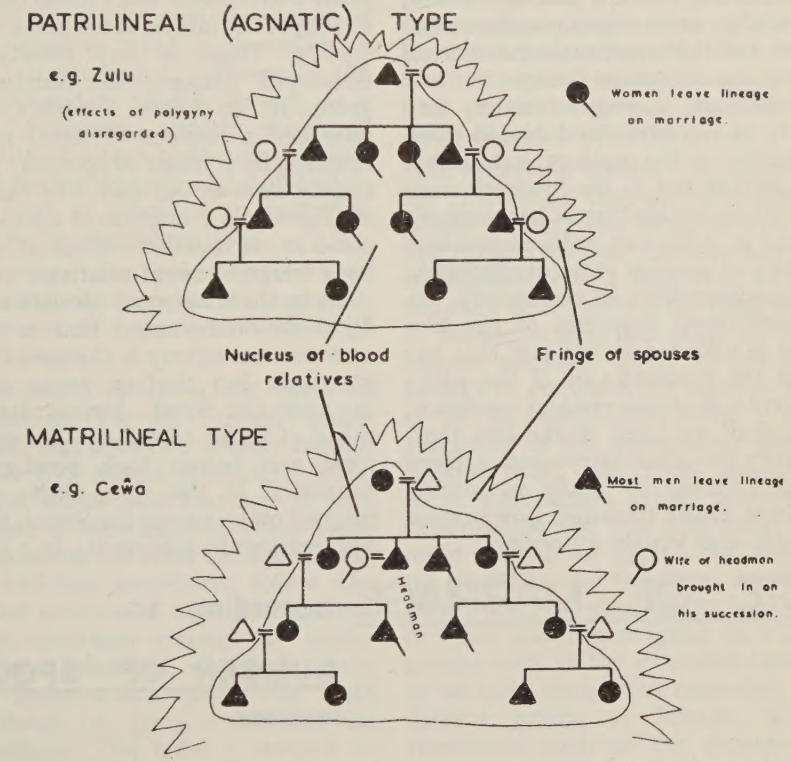
Because each of us is the point of convergence of an enormous number of descent lines all potentially equal in importance though seldom given equal recognition, it is appropriate, as Parsons suggests,[7] to refer to our kinship system as a multilineal rather than a bilateral one. Its marked symmetry, which goes back to our Teutonic ancestors, has far reaching effects on our domestic grouping, and for that reason I shall be returning to it later. Another noteworthy point about it is the fact that it is open, i.e., no forms of preferential marriage between kin exist.

The second of the characteristics that I listed as ones in respect of which societies differ is the location of authority. In this

[4]Gordon D. Gibson, "Double Descent and Its Correlates among the Herero of Ngamiland", *American Anthropologist*, 58, 1956, 109-139.
[5]Daryll Forde, "Double Descent among the Yakö" in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, edited by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, London, 1950.
[6]Cf. Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
[7]*Loc. cit.*

# KINSHIP ORGANIZATION

## CONSANGUINEAL (LINEAGE):




## CONJUGAL:

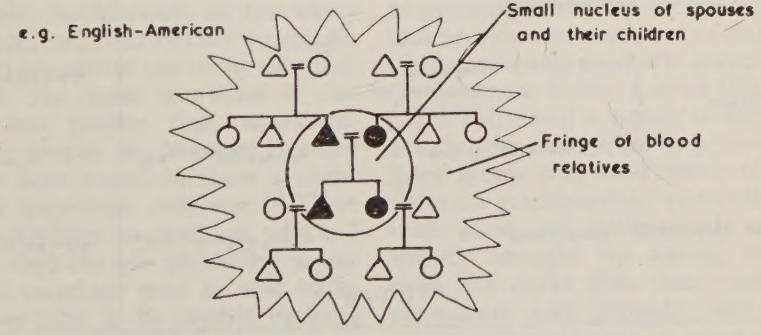



FIGURE 3

connexion we may note that patterns of domestic and sometimes even political authority are often concordant with modes of reckoning descent, i.e., that domestic and political authority are often vested in descent groups represented by authorities such as headmen. Thus (returning to Fig. 2) in societies reckoning descent through males, i.e., patrilineally, authority is usually vested in the father and the senior male members of his descent group or agnatic lineage; in those reckoning descent through females, i.e., matrilineally, it is vested, as I hinted when I referred earlier to the myth of matriarchy, not in the mother but in the mother's male matrikin, such as her brother or her mother's brother. In Fig. 2 the two series of numbers give examples of possible order of succession to lineage headmanship. In our society, the optional, multilineal character of the kinship system is reflected in the fact that the influence of the husband's or of the wife's blood relatives is of almost random incidence; and, as we shall see later, in the fact that, especially since the industrial revolution, there has developed within the family an uneasy, and sometimes highly dynamic, compromise between male and female authority.

Turning to the third mode of variation, the emphasis on consanguineal or on conjugal organization (Fig. 3), we find that in unilineal societies, i.e., those that emphasize *either* the male *or* the female line to the virtual exclusion of the other, there is a tendency for the descent group or lineage, consisting of *either* patrilineal *or* matrilineal blood relatives, to eclipse the family as we know it in Western society. Thus, in any society with well developed lineages, the functional kinship group is, to follow Linton's well known passage,[8] a nucleus of blood relatives surrounded by a fringe of spouses; whereas in a society such as our own, the functional kinship group is a nucleus of spouses and their children surrounded—often at a distance—by a fringe of blood relatives.

As to the number of spouses allowed (Fig. 4), it should be noted that in most human societies monogamy is the prevailing form of marriage, but that in many of these, for instance the South African Bantu, a plurality of wives (*polygyny*) is regarded as an ideal and brings high prestige to those, estimated at less than thirty per cent of married males among the Swazi, for instance,[9] who manage to achieve it. In a few societies,

TYPE OF MARRIAGE according to NUMBER OF SPOUSES

| | | HUSBANDS | WIVES |
|---|---|---|---|
| MONOGAMY | (the prevailing form in most societies) | H | w |
| POLYGAMY | POLYGYNY (common as a supplement to monogamy) | H | $w_1 + w_2 + w_3 + \cdots + w_n$ |
| | POLYANDRY (rare) | $H_1 + H_2 + H_3 + \cdots + H_n$ | w |
| GROUP MARRIAGE | (very rare) | $H_1 + H_2 + H_3 + \cdots + H_n$ | $w_1 + w_2 + w_3 + \cdots + w_n$ |

FIGURE 4

[8]Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, New York, 1936, p. 159.
[9]Hilda Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, London, 1947, p. 37.

especially those living under severe economic circumstances in which overpopulation is a constant threat, a plurality of husbands (*polyandry*) is resorted to. This institution is often associated with female infanticide which brings about the required sex ratio. Linton remarks that any social worker will testify that, even in our own society, hard times often result in what is essentially a polyandrous arrangement, although the secondary husband is usually known as a boarder.[10] *Polygamy*, strictly speaking, means plurality of either husbands or wives and includes both polygyny and polyandry. It is often used in reference to polygyny because this is the commoner form.

*Group marriage*, i.e., plurality on both sides, has been only very rarely reported, and is by no means as common as evolutionist theory would require.

Finally, societies differ in the rules of marriage residence (Fig. 5). Strongly patrilineal societies, e.g. the Zulu, usually require newlyweds to live at the husband's home settlement, in which case marriage is said to be *virilocal*, a term which, being more precise, is displacing the older term *patrilocal*. Matrilineal societies sometimes follow the same rule and sometimes the opposite one. For instance marriage among the matrilineal Trobriand Islanders, who were made famous by Malinowski's pioneering field work, is virilocal, i.e., couples settle at the husband's village. The tribe I studied in Northern Rhodesia, the matrilineal Cewa, usually, but not invariably, follow the rule that the couple should reside at the wife's home settlement, i.e., most of their marriages (seventy-seven per cent in one of my samples) are *uxorilocal*. The term *uxorilocal* is displacing the less precise one, *matrilocal*. Working-class people in Western society have recently been found to show a slight preference for uxorilocal residence.[11] There are other possibilities as well, of which I shall mention only the one prevailing in our society, where marriage may be said to be *neolocal*, i.e. we tend to be neither virilocal nor uxorilocal, but to set up a completely new *ménage* on marriage, and then, incidentally, to feel that we are at a sufficiently safe distance to make our mothers-in-law the butts of our more aggressive jokes.

These, then, are a few of the variations to be found among what I have called Nature's experimental designs in human domestic and kinship organization. My task is to select from this varied material some of the types that provide a proper perspective for the study of our own family system.

In searching among non-literate societies for institutions that are comparable to our family we may use either a structural or a functional criterion. Structurally the group corresponding to a family as we know it is not difficult to find; for the elementary family of husband, wife and child is found in all human societies, even though it may be subject to modifications such as the sharing of the husband-father under a polygynous system or of the wife-mother under a polyandrous one, and even though it may be a subordinate group within a greatly extended family. The functional criterion is more difficult to apply. The functions that we regard in our society as inevitably associated with the elementary family are often in other societies assigned to wider kinship groups such as the extended family, which, as we have seen, often comprises a unilineal descent group, or lineage, with certain accretions, such as the spouses of lineage members and those children whom the prevailing principle of descent excludes from membership. A good illustration of how a unilineal descent group may form the nucleus of the local and domestic group comes from the Southern Sotho. Ashton tells us that the Sotho individual is usually brought up among people who form what is primarily a patrilineal group, composed loosely of his parents, paternal grandparents, paternal uncles and their wives and children. He adds: 'One is usually brought up among these people, lives and works with them, assists them in ceremonies and domestic and agricultural

[10]Linton, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-83.
[11]See, for instance, Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, London, 1957.

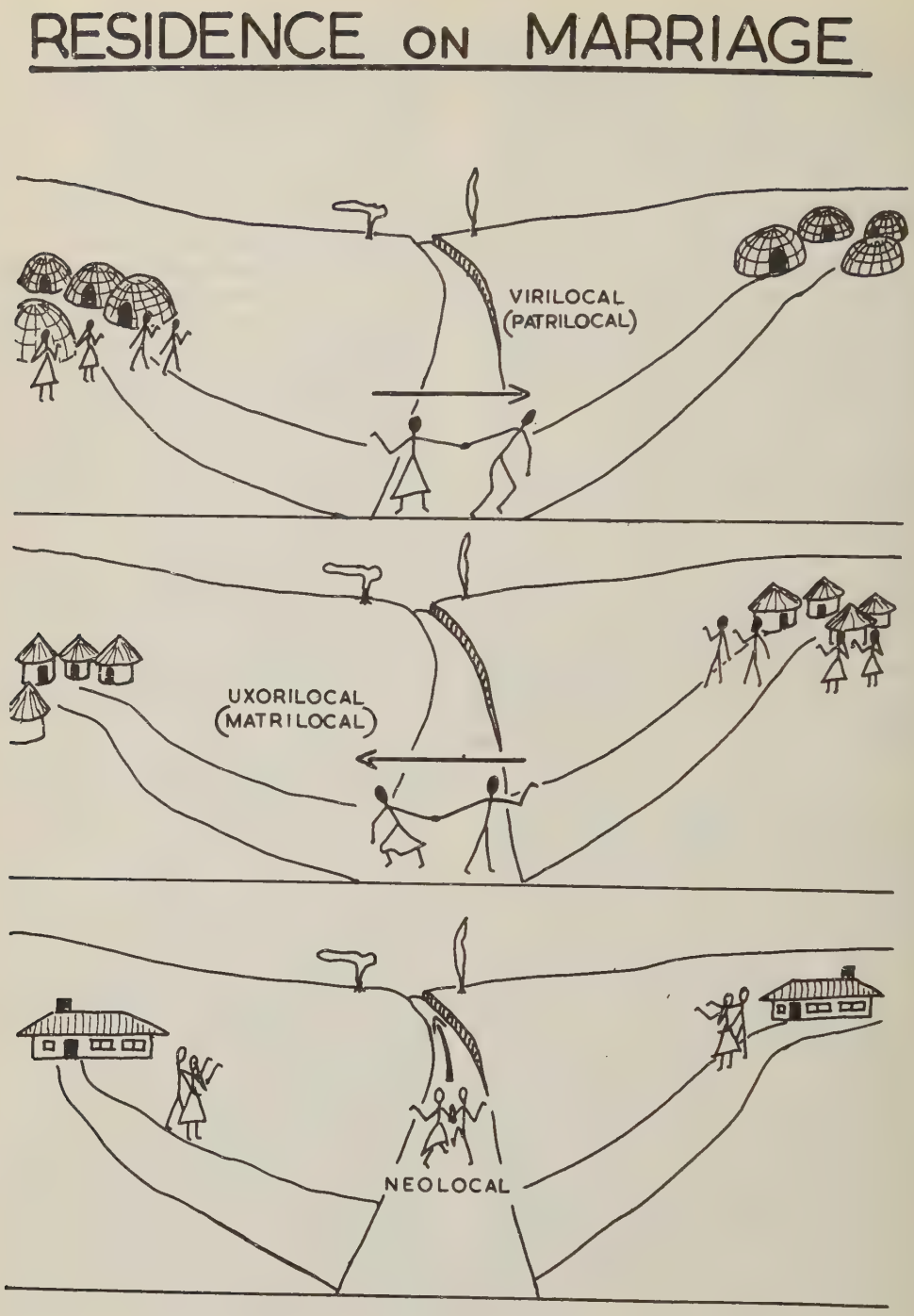

RESIDENCE ON MARRIAGE
VIRILOCAL
(PATRILOCAL)
UXORILOCAL
(MATRILOCAL)
NEOLOCAL

FIGURE 5

activities, is helped by them to marry and bring up one's own children.'[12] A point about this sort of arrangement, to which I shall return later, is its potential for widespread personal attachments, something that contrasts sharply with the close, intensive character of our family ties.

To make my task manageable in the space at my disposal I shall concentrate on two phenomena that over the range of human societies show considerable variation and on one phenomenon that shows a remarkable degree of uniformity. The two variable phenomena are the nature of marriage, especially in relation to the other aspects of the kinship system, and the manner in which domestic functions are distributed among social groups. The virtually uniform phenomenon to which I shall be referring is the incest taboo.

In order to understand the nature of marriage in different societies let us return to Linton's distinction between conjugal and consanguineal organization. Again let us move from the known to the unknown by taking our society first (Fig. 1). In it the effective social and domestic unit is a conjugal one, a nucleus of spouses and their children surrounded—but at a distance spatially and socially—by a relatively unimportant fringe of blood relatives. Our kinship terminology gives a clear indication of the importance we attach to the nucleus and of our vagueness in regard to the fringe. As Parsons points out, there are seven terms, father, mother, brother, sister, spouse (i.e., husband or wife), son and daughter, which are reserved for members of what he calls the inner circle, i.e., the families of orientation and procreation.[13] Moving to the outer circle, we become less discriminating and use terms like 'uncle' and 'aunt' for persons between whom other societies, e.g. the South African and Central African Bantu, would be careful to distinguish. Beyond the outer circle is the vague fringe of more distant blood relatives, most of whom we classify as 'cousin', qualifying this term with 'first', 'second', 'once removed', etc., only when called upon to be more precise. The nature of this concentric arrangement of blood relatives is brought out by the conventions used in Fig. 1.

When we turn to societies in which unilineal descent is followed more consistently than in ours, we find the basis of kinship organization—and in most small-scale societies this means general social organization as well—reversed. Take the societies represented in the upper parts of Fig. 3, the patrilineal Zulu and my tribe of adoption, the matrilineal Cewa of the country where Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Moçambique meet. These two societies are similar in that the unilineal descent group, the patrilineage of the Zulu and the matrilineage of the Cewa, forms a corporate group. It does this in a number of ways. It forms the nucleus of the residential unit, the Zulu homestead and the Cewa village-section; it acts as a politico-jural unit, protecting and being responsible for its members in their relationships, including marriage, with the members of other lineages; and it is a religious corporation by virtue of its sharing descent from, or kinship with, a group of spirits, both lineal ancestors and collaterals, who are believed to censure its members' misconduct and watch over their welfare. Again kinship terminology gives a scale of importance. Both these tribes use terms like 'father', 'mother' and 'brother' not only within the inner circle but outside it as well. Thus, among the Zulu, 'father' as a term of both reference and address includes paternal uncle; among the Cewa, 'mother' includes maternal aunt; and in both tribes the equivalent of our 'brother' includes all male lineage members of Ego's generation, even first and more distant cousins. (This 'classificatory' tendency extends even more widely but the residential pattern in each case makes the inclusion of lineage members the most conspicuous effect.)

These two societies, in contrast to our own, fit Linton's conception of consanguineal organization in that in each case the effective social unit consists of a nucleus of blood

[12]Hugh Ashton, *The Basuto*, London, 1952, p. 18.
[13]Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

# CONTRASTS IN MARITAL STABILITY

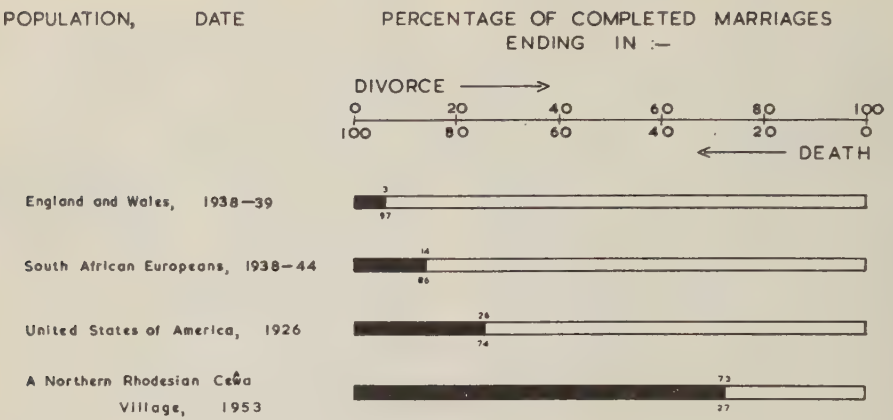



FIGURE 6

relatives, the lineage, surrounded by a fringe of comparatively unimportant spouses. The Cewa fit the definition more closely than the Zulu; for in their case the position of the spouses is more heavily overshadowed by the consanguineal nucleus. The Cewa do not tack on the fringe of spouses very securely. Their divorce rate is probably about three times that of the Americans and five or six times that of South African whites (Fig. 6). One could adapt Tennyson and say of the Cewa, 'Husbands may come and husbands may go, but the matrilineage goes on . . . .' if not for ever then at least for periods many times longer than the average duration of marriage.

Many students of Western society look upon a high divorce rate as a symptom of social disorganization. Among the Cewa it does not seem to be; in fact it appears to be an essential condition for effective social organization. The solidarity of the matrilineage is so marked that, if a person—man or woman—is the victim of conflicting loyalties towards his spouse and his matrilineage, he usually resolves the conflict by getting rid of his spouse; and the interests of the matrilineage, the important social group, are thereby maintained. If you are puzzled why the high divorce rate among the Cewa is not a threat, but rather a support, to the matrilineage, remember that in a matrilineal society the chidren born of every marriage automatically belong to their mother's, not their father's, descent group. They acquire membership of a corporate matrilineage, i.e., their mother's, regardless of who their fathers are or of how many husbands their mother may have buried or divorced. That in some cases this number is considerable was brought home to me when I was collecting the statistics on which the bottom bar diagram of Fig. 6 is based. An old woman would give me quite a long list of men who, in succession, had been properly married to her and who had fathered her children. Then my friend the village headman would helpfully say, 'But what about old so-and-so to whom you were married when we moved the village from the Katiule River?'—to which the usual reply was, 'Oh yes, I'd forgotten about him; we were subsequently divorced.' Fig. 6 compares my estimate of the Cewa divorce rate with that of certain other populations. Unfortunately the dates are not comparable because the type of rate that is easiest for a field anthropologist to ascertain, i.e., the

percentage of completed marriages ending in divorce, is not often available for modern societies.[14]

No one, to my knowledge, has estimated this type of divorce rate for the South African Bantu, but ethnographers are unanimous in reporting that divorce, while possible, is extremely rare. This brings us to the main difference between the two tribes shown in the upper part of Fig. 3, the Cewa and the Zulu. Among the Zulu the nucleus of the effective kinship unit is again a group of blood relatives; but the fringe of spouses is by no means unimportant. The Zulu seem to have succeeded in far greater measure than the Cewa in firmly tacking it on. How and why have they done this? They have done it through the institution of bride-price or *lobolo*, which the Cewa do not observe, and this institution exists as a convenient solution to one of the problems confronting any markedly patrilineal society. Jeffreys has effectively shown that the primary function of *lobolo* is to establish the rights of the person or group giving it to the children born to the woman in respect of whom it is given.[15] He rightly insists that, if we must refer to it as a price at all, we should call it child-price rather than bride-price. This institution has the effect of getting round the difficulty that women born into a given patrilineage cannot, as in a matrilineal system, legitimately produce children for their own group; and for this purpose women must be brought in from other patrilineages, their reproductive powers being secured for a consideration. Among some patrilineal tribes, such as the Amba of Western Uganda,[16] patrilineages exchange women without using the ceremonial currency of cattle. The South African Bantu use cattle as a means of balancing the asymmetrical movement of bride to bridegroom's group (Fig. 7), and of ensuring that the children born of the union so effected will be members of their father's group. This elaborate procedure appears to produce a degree of marital stability as a by-product; for divorce involves the return of the cattle. Among the Cewa there is no transfer of goods or cattle to balance the asymmetrical movement of the groom to the bride's matrilineage, and correspondingly a lesser degree of marital stability; but, as I have shown, this does not affect the situation in a matrilineal society where the prevailing principle of descent operates no matter how weak the marriage link happens to be. There is, in fact, on record one matrilineal society, that of the Nayars of Southern India,[17] which at one stage of its history had almost, though not quite, dispensed with marriage altogether. Women were respectably married, divorced at the end of the wedding and then produced children for their matrilineages by taking lovers.

The difference between Cewa and Zulu in regard to the tacking on of the fringe of spouses is clearly paralleled by kinship terminology. The closer affiliation of the *lobola*'d Zulu daughter-in-law to her affines, i.e., her spouse's patrilineage, than is the case with the Zulu son-in-law is reflected in the terms by which she is addressed. Reader has shown that, among the Zulu-speaking Makhanya[18] (and reference to Krige shows that his contention holds more generally for the Zulu-speaking area[19]), the bride is assimilated terminologically to her husband's patrilineage, in which she is called 'sister' by her husband's brothers and sisters and 'child' by his parents; whereas her male counterpart, the son-in-law, is always designated by an affinal term such as 'son-in-law' or 'sibling-in-law'. In effect the bride becomes a member of her husband's lineage whereas the bridegroom never becomes a

[14]See J. A. Barnes, "Measures of Divorce Frequency in Simple Societies", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 79, 1949, 37-62, which, at p. 45, is the source for the rates for England and Wales and the United States. The rate for South African whites is given in Union of South Africa, Office of Census and Statistics, *Report on Divorces*, 1913-1944 (Special Report No. 159), 1946.
[15]M. D. W. Jeffreys, "Lobolo is Child-Price", *African Studies*, 10, 1951, 145-84.
[16]Edward H. Winter, *Bwamba*, Cambridge, n.d., pp. 21-27 *et passim*.
[17]E. Kathleen Gough, "Changing Kinship Usages in the Setting of Political and Economic Change among the Nayars of Malabar," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 82, 1952, 71-88 at pp. 73-75.
[18]D. H. Reader, *Makhanya Kinship Rights and Obligations*, Cape Town, 1954, p. 28 *et passim*.
[19]E. J. Krige, *The Social System of the Zulus*, London, 1936, especially Appendix I.

# CONTRASTS IN MARRIAGE

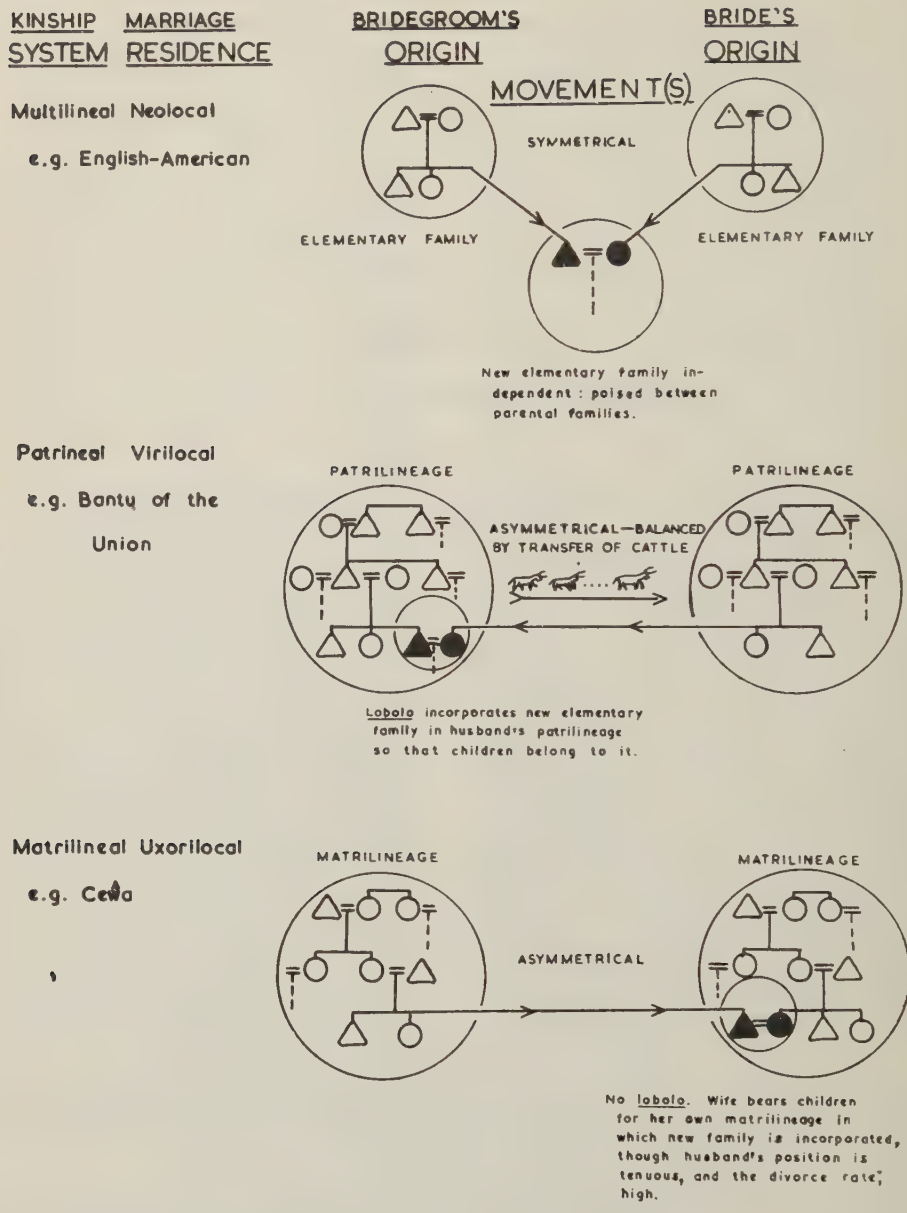



FIGURE 7

member of his wife's. In contrast to this the Cewa show no assimilation either way, both bride and bridegroom being designated by affinal terms. This is in keeping with the fact that the spouse of a matrilineage member (usually conceived of as a husband among the uxorilocal Cewa) is always in some degree a stranger liable to be divorced and sent away if a conflict between him and his in-laws should arise.

If we compare marriage among the tribes we have been considering with that prevailing among ourselves (shown in the upper part of Fig. 7), we are immediately struck by the symmetry of the movements involved in our marriage, and the resultant separation and independence of the new family. Whereas among both Zulu and Cewa the new elementary family tends to be engulfed by the lineage to which it becomes assimilated, among ourselves it is so nicely balanced between the families of orientation of bride and groom that it can join neither.[20] Those of us who are married are fully aware of the importance attached to this balancing of loyalties. This Christmas with mother means, as a rule, next Christmas with mother-in-law. The symmetry of our marriage system is of course an outgrowth or aspect of the symmetry of our more general kinship system. Although it makes separation a constantly recurring and sometimes distressing theme in our lives, it has far-reaching effects on our general social mobility. Under an economic system that requires us to be mobile and under a social one that, in its ideal form, requires us to develop initiative and responsibility, we may look upon the symmetry of our system of kinship and marriage as one of the most useful aspects of our social heritage.

I would suggest that the South African Bantu would have made a much quicker adjustment to the problems of urban domestic life if they had shared with us our happy historical accident of being untrammelled by an asymmetrical system of kinship and marriage. The commoner obstacles to the development of an African family that meets the requirements of urban living are too well known to need more than mere listing—poverty, an abnormally high proportion of men, inadequate housing and many obstacles to socio-economic advancement. Added to these is the fact that Africans are still in the grip of a kinship system that imposes on them a clannishness quite out of keeping with urban living. And even when in response to modern urban-industrial conditions large-scale patrilineal grouping breaks down—as, for instance, when a marriage is contracted without *lobolo*—the domestic group that emerges is not similar to the Western one, but is still based on the consanguineal rather than the conjugal principle. The father of the child born to an un-*lobola*'d woman can secure no rights to it; it belongs to its mother's descent group. There is even a suggestion that the father's attempts to legitimize his offspring by *lobola*'ing their mother are resisted by her parents, who see in their daughter's illegitimate children a source of security in their rootless urban old age.[21]

At present the unmarried mother's descent group is usually patrilineally defined; but with a few more generations of urban living we may expect the emergence of what Smith in reference to the Negro family in the New World has called a 'matri-focal', rather than a matrilineal, system.[22] In this development, the mother-child relationship, of fundamental importance in any society, is thrown into high relief by the fact that the husband-father's rôle becomes peripheral to the functioning of the domestic group. In the West Indies it has become peripheral, because colour rather than the husband-father's occupation determines the family's social status, and because the husband-father, at

[20]Cf. Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
[21]This is implicit in D. H. Reader and J. W. Mann, "Marriage, Family and Children" in *The Baumannville Community*, edited by Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, Durban, 1955, especially p. 95, and explicit in Mia Brandel, "Urban Lobolo Attitudes", *African Studies*, 17, 1958, 34-51, at pp. 44ff.
[22]Raymond T. Smith, *The Negro Family in British Guiana*, London, 1956, pp. 142-43, 221, 226-28. See also E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, Chicago, 1939, and Fernando Henriques, *Family and Colour in Jamaica*, London, 1953.

least at certain stages of the development of the domestic group, does not retain command of its economic resources. What Smith calls 'matri-filiation' may be expected in increasing degree among our urban Africans; for their circumstances, particularly the determination of their social status by racial rather than economic and personal factors, are basically similar to those of New World Negroes.

The character and function of marriage are, as we have seen, highly variable from one society to another. So too, is the manner in which the functions we associate with the family are distributed between elementary and extended family. Many modern sociologists have asserted that the family in our society is no longer a group of comprehensive function and that it has steadily been losing its functions to outside groups. Sometimes, though less often nowadays, this argument is pushed to the sombre conclusion that our family will become extinct for want of a social function, and that the rising divorce rates of the first half of the twentieth century are a sign of its doom. While it is undoubtedly true that the *domestic group* (which cannot always be equated with the elementary family) in our society once had diverse functions, economics, religious, psychological, sexual and social, it is doubtful whether the older, more comprehensive domestic group can be identified with the present one which is an elementary family. There is some evidence, e.g. Homans's reconstruction of thirteenth-century English village life and the studies by Arensberg and Miner of surviving European peasant social organization,[23] that the earlier form of our domestic group was an extended rather than an elementary family, and that in this respect at least it resembled the prevailing domestic group of many contemporary non-literate societies. The assertion that our family has lost its functions is therefore in one sense misleading; for the modern family is constituted differently from the ancient one. We are comparing two different social groups. It would, in fact, be truer to say that the modern family has in relation to other kin-groups actually increased its functional load. A glance at the position in contemporary non-literate societies, where the picture is possibly clearer than the one we get from reconstructions or survivals of our older type of organization, throws some light on this question. In many of these, as we have seen, the effective domestic group is not an elementary family but a lineage nucleus surrounded by a fringe of spouses who are of incidental importance; and it is this consanguineal nucleus that is charged with political, religious and economic functions as well as the social ones involved in providing its individual members with a refuge when physically threatened or slandered and with an object of social identification.

Let us now adopt a slightly different approach to the problem of the distribution of functions between elementary family and the wider kin-group. Let us take the functions that the more optimistic among modern sociologists believe to be the ones the modern family performs so well that it is unlikely to surrender them to any other group and therefore unlikely to become extinct. There is fairly general agreement that as a minimum the modern family produces children and co-operates with other agencies like schools in preparing them for social living; and that it provides a stable anchorage for the personal ties of its adult members.[24] If we seek these functions of procreation, socialization and stabilization in non-literate societies, we often find that some of them are performed not by the elementary family alone but by it in association with the wider kin-group. It is true that, with the exception of the extreme matrilineal organization of the Nayars and the occasional occurrence of illegitimacy in nearly all societies, the procreation of children the world over is the concern of the elementary

[23]George C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, Mass., 1942; Conrad Arensberg, *The Irish Countryman*, Chicago, 1937; Horace Miner, *St. Denis*, Chicago, 1939.

[24]See, for instance, Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, Glencoe, Ill., 1955, pp. 16ff.

family. But, turning to socialization, we find that this function is performed by the elementary family in association with the lineage, especially when the latter, or a segment of it, forms the core of the residential group. Similarly, the emotional stability of adults is promoted, not only by their membership of the elementary family, but also, and in some instances, primarily, by their membership of the lineage, which is the source of much of their general security and the object of their proud identification.

These considerations confirm the conclusion that we have already reached, viz., that the modern family, by comparison with the elementary family of either contemporary non-literate societies or of older forms of our own society, far from having lost functions appears to have taken on new ones.

From the domestic group's functions, whose distribution varies markedly between societies, to the incest taboo, which has a universal stringency, is not a long step. This is because, of the many theories social scientists and philosophers have advanced to explain the universality of the incest taboo, the best, though by no means perfect, explanation advanced to date is the functional one. This is, briefly, that the regular occurrence of incest in any society would so interfere with the functions of its domestic group that the processes of socialization and cultural transmission would break down, resulting in the extinction of the society concerned. All such societies have presumably succumbed, and we are left with only those that prohibit incest. This theory makes two assumptions. The first is that the intimacy of a sexual relationship if it occurred, say, between parent and child, would undermine the parental authority required for cultural transmission. The second assumption, which is probably more valid, is to the effect that incest would unleash the destructive forces of sexual jealousy within the family, and this, together with the confusion of social categories resulting from the mating of close relatives, would seriously interfere with its functions of socializing children and stabilizing adults, with the result that the society of which it formed a part would break down.[25]

The larger scale of the domestic groups of certain non-literate societies is reflected in a rather wider interpretation of the meaning of incest. Among some Bantu tribes, for instance, the incest taboo applies not only between brother and sister but also between clan brother and sister, i.e. between ortho-cousins of the opposite sex; and in many others, cross-sex avoidance relationships, which are usually rationalized (though not necessarily accounted for) in terms of incest, are most conspicuous between affines of proximate generations, e.g. father-in-law and daughter-in-law or mother-in-law and son-in-law. Both these wider applications of the incest taboo appear to correspond to the wider definition of the domestic group; for, in the societies concerned, both fellow lineage members and affines are included in the extended family comprising it.

This last fact acquires meaning when we consider it in relation to what has recently been written of the positive effects of the incest taboo. In general, too, the functional explanation of the universality of the incest taboo becomes even more plausible if we avoid the negative implication of the term 'taboo' and, following Lévi-Strauss, call this universal human rule not the incest taboo but the obligation to marry outside the family.[26] Thus, following this lead, we may regard the wider incest taboo among the Bantu tribes as the obligation to marry outside the domestic group, which is an extended, rather than an elementary, family. Parsons, like Lévi-Strauss, recommends a reversal of sign.[27] He points out that, when the ongoing activities that ensure the survival of a society are based on kin-groups, marriage becomes an important means of establishing ties of interpenetration cross-cutting those

[25]Cf. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, London, 1927, pp. 243-52, and Kingsley Davis, *Human Society*, New York, 1948, pp. 401ff.
[26]Claude Lèvi-Strauss, cited by J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, *Lévi-Strauss's Theory on Kinship and Marriage*, Leiden, 1952, pp. 4, 12.
[27]Talcott Parsons, "The Incest Taboo in Relation to Social Structure and the Socialization of the Child", *British Journal of Sociology*, 5, 1954, 101-117.

based directly or primarily on descent. He maintains that in all societies the incest taboo in its positive form operates to propel the individual out of his elementary family of orientation, and that it does this in two ways. It propels him, firstly, into a new elementary family formed on his marriage; and, secondly, into non-familial rôles.

The picture that Parsons paints of the individual's being propelled out of his consanguineal family of orientation into his conjugal family of procreation is probably truer for our society than it is for most non-literate societies. In any society, for instance, in which a strongly unilineal kinship system affects the pattern of marriage residence, only half the individuals are propelled out of their families of orientation and thereby out of their kin-groups, i.e., only the women where marriage is virilocal and only the men where it is uxorilocal. Furthermore, as we have seen, in most non-literate societies, even the half of the population who leave their families of orientation are not propelled into small, discrete, independent, mobile units like our elementary family, but into membership, which may be firm or tenuous, of their spouses' lineages. Thus, while the incest taboo may be regarded in our society as a mechanism for severing the fully socialized individual from the group that has socialized him (his family of orientation), it does not in many non-literate societies appear to mitigate the drag of clannishness, since it propels him merely from one lineage into another.

I shall go no further in providing perspectives from non-literate societies that may throw light on the modern family. But before I sum up by making an assessment of the strength and weakness of the modern family in relation to the tasks that now confront it, I must, even at the risk of trespassing on Professor Wagner's preserves,[28] touch briefly on some of the recent changes in our society which, in association with our deeply rooted symmetrical kinship system, have given our modern domestic group its peculiar character. Most of these changes date from the industrial revolution, which for our purposes had three notable features.

Firstly, by centralizing population and by redistributing it in relation to hitherto unused natural resources, it further realized the potentiality of our elementary family for independent movement from place to place and from class to class. This potentiality had apparently been realized in some measure in pre-industrial European societies, most of which had abandoned both partible and joint inheritance in favour of some system (of which there were a number of variants such as primogeniture, ultimogeniture and father's choice of heir) that kept one son on the land and dispersed the others—and those of the daughters who did not marry heirs in other families—into the towns and cities, into the church, into colonization, war and trade.[29] Secondly, the industrial revolution, through the use of mechanical power and the more detailed division of labour, found new rôles for women, thus increasing their economic, social, political, and inevitably their domestic power, and thus upsetting the traditional balance of authority between the sexes. Thirdly, it increased markedly the tempo of social change, thus rendering long experience inappropriate to the problems of economic or social adjustment, and thus reducing the veneration of the aged which had hitherto been almost universal among human societies.

It is hardly surprising that increased mobility and isolation and the new balance of power between the sexes and between age categories have had the effect of throwing the family into a state of acute disequilibrium, the main symptoms of which are confusion regarding the rôles of husband and wife and of parents and children, and an increased rate of marital dissolution, of which the divorce rate is the most convenient, if sometimes a misleading, index.

The disturbed relationship between husband and wife, or the upset balance of power between the sexes, is a problem for which various solutions have been suggested. As an instance of a conservative solution we have

[28] Professor O. J. M. Wagner, Professor of Sociology in the University of the Witwatersrand.
[29] Homans, *op. cit.*, Chaps. 8-11, 15; Arensberg, *op. cit.*, Chap. 3; Miner, *op. cit.*, Chaps. 4, 8-10.

the suggestion that women should return to their former inferior status. Thus a South African sociologist says nostalgically of the traditional Afrikaans family, "Die man en vrou was één, en daardie een persoon was die man".[30] It would appear probable that the Canute attitude implied here will eventually give way to the more progressive one represented by an American sociologist, who, nearly a generation ago, pointed out that the remedy for the emancipation of woman is not her re-enslavement, but the development of team-work between the sexes.[31]

The redistribution of power between the sexes is but one of the aspects of the changed rôle-structure of the family. One of the most interesting features of this is the fact that, as our wider society has become more specialized and more secularized — more organically solidary as Durkheim would have put it—, the rôles within our family have had to become correspondingly more generalized. The sharp differentiation of male and female rôles is breaking down. Men change nappies; women drive cars. Furthermore, with the advance of industry and city life, the field of what Cooley called the primary group has steadily contracted, and social relationships of an intrinsically satisfying kind have now to be sought more and more within the narrow confines of the family. Compare the intensity of intrafamilial relationships resulting from this process with the diffuseness of relationships within the settlement group of the Sotho, referred to earlier. The psychological importance of the family has now increased, since it now has to provide for its members, in a highly condensed form, the varied relationships of authority, indulgence, friendship and rivalry that were formerly derived from specialized types of interaction with members of the wider kin-group. Whereas a member of a South African Bantu tribe traditionally looks to his father and his senior agnatic kin for authority, to his mother and grandmother for indulgence and to his mother's brother for friendship and familiarity, the child in a modern family has but two parents from whom to expect the whole gamut of interaction; and the parental rôles have to be suitably generalized to provide it.

Perhaps a comparison of our family with the domestic group in a matrilineal society will make this phenomenon of rôle generalization within the modern family clearer. I shall describe the position existing among the Cewa which, incidentally, is remarkably similar to that prevailing among the Trobriand Islanders many thousands of miles away and described by Malinowski over thirty years ago.[32] A Cewa man plays two distinct rôles in relation to two groups of children. He is the friendly, indulgent playmate of his own children (or more strictly his wife's children since they are not his in our sense of possession); and he is the austere disciplinarian of his sister's children. When he plays with his children he is not limited by considerations of discipline; and when he disciplines his sister's children his authority is not undermined by playfulness, which is entirely excluded from the mother's brother-sister's child relationship. In our society both rôles, mentor and playmate, have to be played in relation to the same child or children by the same person, the father; and we are all familiar with the conflicts that this imposes.

The instability of the modern family both in regard to its causes and the severity of its consequences is a problem closely related to the one we have been discussing. A factor in our divorce statistics is undoubtedly the confusion that reigns regarding the rôles of men and women in modern life in general and in the modern family in particular. And one of the most serious consequences of our marital dissolution is that it breaks relationships of a singularly intense and pervasive kind.

An important cause of our marital dissolution is, of course, the fact that high mobility reduces the chances of a couple's getting to know each other well before marriage. Anthropology throws some light on their typical reaction to this dangerous situation.

[30] J. de W. Keyter, *Die Huwelik en Gesin*, Bloemfontein, 1940, p. 115 *et passim*.
[31] George B. Mangold, *Social Pathology*, New York, 1937, p. 574.
[32] Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Father in Primitive Psychology*, London, 1927.

According to Malinowski, man uses magic on those occasions when he is aware of his imperfect control over the course of events—when, for instance, his technology is inadequate to the demands made of it and when, especially, its inadequacy thwarts strong desires.[33] The situation facing modern man when he chooses a mate is precisely of this kind. Because high mobility reduces length of acquaintanceship and because marriage can be an escape from the loneliness peculiar to urban life, modern couples find it a hazardous and yet an urgent undertaking. They often fall back on a magic formula for reassurance. This is sometimes called the romantic-love formula and is usually expressed in the notion, 'Provided we're in love, we have nothing to fear from the future'.

It is difficult to predict whether our present relatively high rate of divorce will decline as the problems I have mentioned are gradually met. It seems probable that divorce will remain as a means of correcting wrong choices even when the awareness of the means and the importance of making right ones is greater. This is because, as I have tried to show, our family is a much closer and more intense social unit than the domestic group of our forbears, or of most non-literate peoples; and in it wrong choices are much more easily revealed and probably much more damaging than they would be if the domestic group were an extended, rather than an elementary, family. It seems likely that the modern family's problems will in large measure be met; for never before in history have men shown a greater awareness of the need for effective social adjustment nor a greater willingness to entrust this to the objective scrutiny of the social sciences.

The time has come for me to conclude by making a general assessment of the modern family in the perspectives I have tried to give in the limited space at my disposal. I make no apology for departing from sociological convention by being optimistic. I have tried in a very short space to introduce you to some of the conceptual aids that social anthropology uses for analysing the complex results of Nature's world-wide 'experimentation' in human domestic life. Using some of these aids we can characterize our family as follows: It is the derivative, and at the same time the growing point, of a multilineal kinship system, and is brought into being by the symmetrical movement of the two spouses from their respective families of orientation. It therefore comprises an elementary family which is independent of the kin-group of either spouse, and which thus possesses a high degree of social mobility and a high potentiality for the development of spontaneous and creative, as opposed to authoritarian and clannish, behaviour. The industrial revolution has realized many of these latent properties but at the same time thrown the whole system into a condition of dynamic incoherence.

Once the resulting instability has been adjusted—in some measure at least by the scientific approach to human behaviour—our family system will probably prove highly suited to its task of procreating, socializing and emotionally anchoring the enlightened and responsible citizens of an industrial democracy.[34]

---

[33]Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion*, Glencoe, Ill., 1948, pp. 59-60.
[34]Cf. Parsons, "The Social Structure of the Family" (see Note 3), p. 201.

# NOTES ON *HLONEPHA* AMONG THE SOUTHERN SOTHO

D. P. KUNENE*

## *SYNOPSIS*

*A detailed examination of the manner in which* hlonepha, *as concretized in the linguistic behaviour of those married women who observe it, is applied. The name of a woman's father-in-law is never mentioned by her, and she must also avoid all words related to it either in a purely phonetical manner, or morpho-phonemically. Such relationship is based on sounds occurring in the radical of the name, and the radical of any given word. Various other relatives-in-law are also accorded this mark of respect, there being, however, local differences in detail as regards the in-laws who fall under this category.*

*What difficulties a* hlonepha-*ing woman may experience in her attempt to avoid the taboo words, and how she overcomes these difficulties; to what extent* hlonepha *terms are universal or are restricted to certain localities, and the reasons for such distribution; how a* hlonepha-*ing woman adjusts herself to a new linguistic environment—these are among the questions considered here.*

*A comprehensive list of* hlonepha *words is given as much for illustration as for the reason that many (if not most) of these terms have gained universality and permanence, becoming a part of the language. Others are synonyms in current use.*

The expression *ho hlonepha*[1] includes, among its meanings, "to respect, to honour'. *Hlonepha*[2] is often used in a more concrete sense to refer to the custom whereby respect is shown in a conventional manner to certain people by certain other people in the social life of the Southern Sotho. Even more concretely, it refers to certain specific forms of behaviour which together make up this custom—hence one of the meanings of *hlonepha* given in Paroz's *Southern Sotho-English Dictionary*, viz., "to avoid certain words". The word *hlonepha* is used here in a specialized sense to refer to one of the forms of behaviour mentioned above.

Briefly, one may say that the *hlonepha* custom is observed by married women[3] with respect to certain of their male relatives-in-law. It entails quite a long list of observances and avoidances which M must comply with strictly. These include the following: "She [the daughter-in-law] should keep her body covered and should not suckle her baby or dance the *mokhibo* in his [her father-in-law's] presence. Nor should she remain in a room alone with him, sit near him, eat out of the same pot, shake hands with him or in any way touch him. She may cook for him and even spread his sleeping mats, but she should not wash his clothes nor touch his intimate property such as saddle or gun."[4] Further, ". . . she must respect and avoid (*hlonepha*) the personal name of her father-in-law or of other kinsmen in that class and must call him by a special name. Should she inadvertently slip, she should immediately spit, to drive away evil arising from this disrespect. . . . This avoidance is usually achieved by replacing the tabooed name by one of the children's names with the prefix *Ra* (father of). For instance, Lelingoana's daughters-in-law would call him Ramponeng, Mponeng being his senior daughter; if they talked about a circumcised boy (*lelingoana*) they would have to use a word such as *lekau* which means a 'young man'".[5] As far as

*Mr D. P. Kunene, M.A., is a Lecturer in Bantu Languages in the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town.

[1]A more modern form is *ho hlompha*.

[2]For convenience, we shall henceforth leave out the prefix *ho*, and also employ the abbreviated *khlo*.

[3]The abbreviations M for "married woman", H for "husband", and F for "father-in-law" will be used henceforth wherever possible.

[4]Hugh Ashton, *The Basuto*, Oxford University Press, 1952, p. 77.

[5]*ibid*, p. 76.

my information goes, however, whenever a situation arises in which M finds it necessary to make reference to F's name (as when she speaks of someone who has the same name as himself), she forms an appropriate proper name from one of the *hlo.* terms by means of which she avoids words elated to his name. So, for instance, the name *Mojalefa,* derived from *ja* (eat) and *lefa* (inheritance), would be replaced by *Mofutaletlotlo,* from *futa,* one of the *hlo.* terms for *ja,* and *letlotlo,* a *hlo.* term for *lefa;* and *Mokhethi,* from *khetha* (choose), by *Monyaki,* from *nyaka,* one of the *hlo.* terms for *khetha.* Other examples are, *Mojapela* replaced by *Mofutatase,* cf. *ja* (eat), *hlo.*, i.a., *futa,* and *pela* (rock-rabbit), *hlo. tase; Moremi* replaced by *Mokai,* cf. *rema* (chop down), *hlo.,* i.a., *kaea; Mosiuoa* replaced by *Moqanuoa,* cf. *siea* (leave behind), *hlo. qana; Mosoeu* replaced by *Mokhanya* or *Mohloephe* or *Motoatla,* cf. *soeu* (white), *hlo.*, i.a., *khanya, mohlophe, motoatla; Motebang* replaced by *Monyamela,* cf. *teba* (sink), *hlo., nyamela; Motsami* replaced by *Monyathohi,* cf. *tsamaea* (walk), *hlo.,* i.a., *nyathoha; Motšehi* replaced by *Mobobothehi* or *Mokeketehi,* cf. *tšeha* (laugh), *hlo.*, i.a., *bobotheha* and *keketeha; Motsɛki* replaced by *Mobaki,* cf. *tseka* (to dispute), *hlo., baka; Motšoane* replaced by *Mofiphanyana,* cf. *tšo* (black), *hlo.*, i.a., *fipha.* In fact it may be necessary to change even proper names which are not names of persons, so that the River *Namahali* would be replaced by *Chacholahali,* one of the *hlo.* terms for *nama* (meat) being *chachola.* I give this long list of examples in order to show that this practice of deriving a substitute name for F (or any of his relatives who are affected) from the relevant terms of avoidance, appears to be wide-spread.

It is, then, this last aspect of the behaviour by means of which M gives concrete expression to her respect for F, namely that she avoid words which show a certain similarity to, or are identical with, F's name (or that of any of the other relatives involved), and find substitute terms for such words, with which we are concerned in this article.

In order to make of the term *hlonepha* as convenient a tool as possible, I have used it to discharge the function of a number of parts of speech. It is employed in this article as a noun naming the custom or the substitute term used; as a verb meaning *to observe the custom;* and as a qualifier, e.g. *hlonepha* custom, a *hlonepha* term. Such adaptations are necessary if circumlocutions are to be reduced to the barest minimum.

The expression *hlonepha* is, grammatically, a verb stem. The noun corresponding to it is *hlonepho.* A qualificative phrase can be formed either from *ho hlonepha* or from *hlonepho,* by making either the base of a possessive qualificative. It is, however, more convenient, particularly for the sake of non-speakers of Southern Sotho and those not conversant with its grammatical structure, to use one term only, and make it serve all the purposes which would otherwise be served by these various expressions.

Some of the questions which it is attempted here to answer are,

(*a*) With respect to which of the relatives-in-law is M required to observe *hlonepha*?

(*b*) What kind and degree of similarity between the *hlonepha*-ed name and the word avoided is used as a criterion for putting such a word in the category of tabooed words? In other words, is it similarity of meaning, or of sound-sequence, or some other?

(*c*) Where a "normal" or "universal" *hlonepha* term is itself objectionable—where for instance, while by its means a certain tabooed word is successfully avoided, it yet shows sufficient similarity to some other tabooed word to be unsuitable — how is the situation resolved?

(*d*) Are there standard substitute terms which every married woman is expected to know and use? Or is she allowed to employ just any word so long as she successfully avoids the unpronounceable word?

(*e*) Directly linked up with the preceding question is this one: To what extent are *hlonepha* terms universal, and how far are they of a local nature—i.e. restricted to a certain locality or community?

(*f*) Finally (and this question is also related to (*d*) and (*e*) above), how does a married woman who moves from one locality to settle in another, adapt herself to her new linguistic environment? How does she make herself understood to her neighbours?

Other, subsidiary, questions which may come up during the discussion will be dealt with as they arise. It will be noticed that some of the above questions are very closely related. Separate discussion of these will be found to be both impossible and undesirable. In any case, it will always be indicated whether discussion is restricted to one point or deals with two or more points at the same time.

At the end of our discussion will appear a list of as many *hlonepha* terms as I was able to collect in Basutoland during a three weeks' visit, supplemented by a dozen or so others which I obtained from the rather few Southern Sotho people in Cape Town.

* * *

*Hlonepha* as manifested in the language of the married women who observe it, is applied with reference only to male relatives of the husband. The fact that it is restricted to men is not surprising, since we know that the Southern Sotho are a patrilineal society. All informants are agreed that M's father-in-law is the central figure in the observance of *hlonepha*, and that from him this honour radiates to some of his male relatives, the latter being treated in this manner by reason only of their relationship to him. So we find that all F's brothers (being themselves regarded as "fathers" of the husband in a special sense) are *hlonepha*-ed in the same way as himself. Again, all my informants are unanimous that H's elder brothers are also *hlonepha*-ed. There are, however, some who assert that *all* of H's brothers, and not only his *elder* brothers, are entitled to this mark of respect. But these were in the minority. It may well be that there are differences in detail in the practical application of the custom among different Southern Sotho clans.[1] For example, one informant told me that among the Khalahali, *hlonepha* is observed with respect also to H's sisters' husbands, while, according to the same informant, among the Kholokoe, the mother-in-law's name is also avoided.[2] Ashton's statement that "Among the Koena and Phuthi, this taboo scarcely extends beyond the father-in-law and his brothers, whereas among the Kholokoe and Tlokoa it covers more distant relatives as well as any words occurring in the names of these relatives",[3] leaves no room for doubt as to the existence of local (and for our purposes unimportant) differences in the observance of *hlonepha*.

The criterion for determining the words to be avoided is that of identicalness or similarity between a sound in the radical of the personal name on account of which *hlonepha* is observed (such name being itself often derived from a common noun), and a sound in the radical of a word. Identicalness or similarity of this nature (i.e. a phonetic-phonemic relationship between these sounds) is the main, if not the sole, factor which leads to the avoidance of the word concerned.

Let us begin our illustrating with those cases where the whole personal name is identical with the whole word avoided, i.e., where not only radicals, but also formative elements such as prefixes and suffixes, are identical. Examples are the name *Moeti*, derived from the common noun *moeti* (traveller, visitor); the name *Khomo* and the common noun *khomo* (a head of cattle); *Metsing* and *metsing* (locative form of noun *metsi*, water); *Motseki* and *motseki* (disputant); *Motsamai* and *motsamai* (traveller).

Our next illustration is of cases of identical radicals with different formatives. First we may take the plurals of some of the common

[1] *Clan* is used here in the sense in which Ashton uses it in *The Basuto*, see p. 12, fn. 1.

[2] It is necessary here to maintain a distinction between the avoidance of personal names of in-laws, and the avoidance of these names *and of all words showing some relationship to them*. Although it did not occur to me to satisfy myself on this point (i.e. as to which of these two is applied to the mother-in-law) during my session with this informant, yet I doubt very much whether *hlonepha* as here understood would ever be used with reference to a woman. In fact, I think that anything which would tend to confer upon her the status of a man would be rigorously excluded.

[3] Ashton, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

nouns appearing in the preceding paragraph: *baeti*, cf. the name *Moeti*; *likhomo*, cf. *Khomo; batseki*, cf. *Motseki; batsamai*, cf. *Motsamai*. Locative and other derivative forms of some of these are *khomong*, cf. *Khomo; motsekisi* (litigant), cf. *Motseki; motsamao* (manner of walking, gait), cf. *Motsamai*. Further examples in this section are: The name *Lebesa* and the verb stem *besa* (to make a fire, to roast); *Lebitsa*, cf. verb stem *bitsa* (call); *Moalosi*, cf. verb stem *alosa* (to herd); *Motebang*, cf. verb stem *teba* (sink); *Moeti* and *Leeto*, cf. *eta* (to go visiting); *Lefahisa*, cf. *faha* (to put meal in a pot of boiling water in making porridge).

Then there are cases where a phonetic relationship as such is not found, but is partially or wholly obscured by morpho-phonemic changes. Examples of these are the name *Lebona* as compared to the common noun *seiponi* (mirror), both of which are derived from the verb stem *bona* (see); *'Matli* and *Patlo*, cf. *batla* (to seek, to want); *Liphapang*, cf. *fapana* (to quarrel).

It is seen from the above illustrations that sound relationships used as criteria for *hlonepha* range from the obvious to the not so obvious. Besides, one name may be the cause of the avoidance of a whole string of grammatically related words (i.e. quite apart from those in which sound relationship does not coincide with grammatical relationship). The result is that where F's name is *Moeti*, M is expected to avoid not only the common noun *moeti* (traveller), but also *eta* (travel), *leeto* (a journey), *maeto* (journeys), *etela* (journey towards, visit), *etile* (perfect of *eta*), *etisa* (cause to visit), *etelana* (visit one one another), etc.

I have so far spoken generally of identicalness or similarity of *sounds* in the radicals of the words concerned. In actual fact, however, it would appear that only complete syllables in these radicals are taken into account. And even here there is a further limitation since, evidently, only syllables consisting of a consonant or consonant-combination followed by a vowel are valid as criteria. A syllable consisting solely of a vowel or a nasal consonant, for example, is therefore not a determining factor in deciding which words are affected. So, for instance, if F's name is *Khampepe*, only the syllables *kha* and *pe* will affect M's vocabulary, but not the syllable *m*, so that while such words as *kha* (draw a liquid), *khama* (choke), *pepenene* (open place) and *pere* (horse) will be avoided, words such as *empa* (but) and *mpontše* (show me), will continue to be used with impunity. Again, if F's name is *Moeketsi*, the syllable *e* immediately following *mo* is not taken into account, and words such as *emisa* (cause to stand; stop) and *etile* (perfect of *eta*, visit) will not be removed from M's vocabulary.

All this notwithstanding, it must not be imagined that a *hlonepha*-ing woman allows herself to be hemmed in and hampered by all sorts of rules of grammar. Or perhaps it is more to the point to say that some of her criteria of avoidance defy classification, as they are based on individual, rather than on generally accepted, standards. Her observance of the custom is in many cases, guided by a *feeling* or instinct for the correct thing. She *feels* that there is sufficient similarity between F's name (or that of whosoever is to be *hlonepha*-ed) and the word she would otherwise employ. Or *vice-versa*. Some of these women for instance, while basing their linguistic behaviour on the rules outlined above, will go beyond the boundaries of the radical, and use a syllable outside of this (particularly a suffixal one) as a determining factor. Others again will find substitute terms for as much of the Southern Sotho daily vocabulary as they possibly can, and leave, in the main only affixal formatives and syntagmemes unchanged. This may, indeed, be due to an exaggerated loyalty to the custom, or to a competitive spirit, in order to outdo So-and-So, or to a desire to make assurance doubly sure that in no circumstances will she pronounce the unpronounceable. And in fact, for this reason solely, it will be found that there are many avoided words without any corresponding personal names on account of which they are avoided. Be that as it may, the fact remains that *all hlonepha*-ing women observe the rules outlined above, while many observe additional rules of their own. Besides, we may repeat,

for emphasis, that the only similarity taken into consideration is that of sounds.

We may now go on to tackle the question: Are there "standard" *hlonepha* terms? This question is closely linked up with that of the universality or otherwise of these terms, and the two will be discussed together. We find that there are agencies working in opposite directions, tending to polarize the development of *hlonepha* terms in this particular respect. Firstly, the tendency towards universality is enhanced by the fact that M uses her *hlonepha* language in the hearing of the children growing up in her new home. The words are in that way imprinted on the children's minds, so that they often use them themselves even though there is no occasion for it. It was amazing the number of *hlonepha* terms the pupils at 'Moteng School (whose ages averaged, I should say, about 12 years) could rattle off in a short space of time. Let me hasten to add that most of these were terms which I had already obtained from adults. The fact that most of my adult informants lived in an area comparatively remote from this school and from these children's homes, shows clearly the good measure of universal recognition many *hlonepha* terms have attained. Further, many grown-ups gave me identical *hlonepha* terms. In fact, one or two words, originally used solely as *hlonepha*, have now been incorporated into daily, non-*hlonepha* vocabulary. A typical example is *noka* (river) which, according to some of my informants, was originally used only to *hlonepha* the word *molapo*, but is now used in everyday speech. *Hlonepha* terms acquired in the manner shown above by girls as they grow up, come in handy when these girls, in their turn, have to observe the custom. We are not forgetting, of course, that *theoretically* the names they have to base their *hlonepha* vocabulary on may not be the same as, or even similar to, those on account of which such terms were employed by other people before them, a factor which would tend to work against the universal use of these terms. In actual fact, however, there is so often a sameness or similarity of family names, that the *hlonepha* vocabulary acquired from other people will more often than not come in useful to those who have so acquired it. Besides there are those women, mentioned above, who *hlonepha* just any word, and who would therefore perpetuate terms acquired from other people.

Universal *hlonepha* terms are sometimes the only ones used, but more often they are found side by side with other, less universally recognized ones. Some examples of universal *hlonepha* terms, taken at random, are *tjepa* for *khomo* (head of cattle), *manyabolo* for *metsi* (water), *nyalasi* for *ntja* (dog), with which are found more localized terms, e.g. *khophela*, *mokoto*.

Another factor which helps to make *hlonepha* terms universal is the common use of synonyms, where these exist and are not themselves objectionable, for the words to be avoided. We need dwell no further on this aspect, except to illustrate: *lisa* is sometimes used as a substitute term for *alosa* (herd). This would be done if F's name were, for example, *Moalosi*. If, on the other hand, his name is *Molise*, then the position is reversed, and *alosa* is substituted for *lisa*. Both of them are terms of ordinary daily use.

The fact that informants sometimes argue about the "correctness" or otherwise of a term points to an unconscious effort to regularize (or "standardize") these terms as far as possible, at any rate within one locality.

What about the diversity of *hlonepha* terms? To begin with, we cannot assume that all growing up girls have the opportunity of hearing *hlonepha* language used daily in their presence, or that they enjoy this privilege to the same degree. Besides, where girls in different homes do have this opportunity, it is as likely as not that the terms used in their hearing will already show a diversity. Now, let us first take a newly-wed who does not know some, or all, of the more common *hlonepha* terms for words she finds herself obliged to avoid. All my informants, bar one,[1] are agreed that the mother-in-law goes no farther than merely to tell her young daughter-in-law the names with reference

[1]See below.

to which she has to *hlonepha*, i.e. F's name, etc. M is then left to her own resources as to (*a*) deciding which words are closely enough related to such names to require substitutes, and (*b*) the substitute terms to be used in lieu of such words. All that the people concerned in this observance are interested in is AVOIDANCE. Any substitute is good enough provided it is employed with an eye to obviating the sound correspondences outlined above, often supplemented by M's knack for discriminating between what is right and what is wrong. There is no room for doubt as to what M will do if no *hlonepha* term readily comes to mind. She will coin one, and it will most likely be different from one coined by somebody else in identical circumstances. And it is, *inter alia*, this placing of emphasis on the act of avoidance rather than on the terms used, in a way an attitude of the end justifying the means, which encourages diversity in these terms. The fact that words are sometimes borrowed from other languages, notably English, Afrikaans, and Zulu, and used exclusively as *hlonepha*, seems to point in the same direction.

There is another, perhaps more important, factor which makes for diversity. A commonly accepted substitute term may itself be objectionable according to the rules of of sound relationship enumerated above. For instance, a situation might arise in which M has to avoid *nku* (a sheep), the most current substitute for which is *tsomane*. But she may, in addition, have to avoid the word *tsoma* (to hunt) which is phonetically identical with the first two syllables of *tsomane*. What then? Well, the most obvious thing to do is to find another term for *nku*. One can easily imagine how a whole string of otherwise commonly used *hlonepha* terms can be invalidated in this manner, so that coinages would be indulged in *ad lib*. This is probably the most important single factor making for diversity and localization of *hlonepha* terms.

The fact that there are situations in which M finds herself compelled to coin a new *hlonepha* term, but especially cases where she indulges in this creation for no other reason than that she does not know the terms which are normally employed, or has forgotten them; the fact that the emphasis is on avoidance and not on the means by which it is achieved—all these point to one conclusion, viz., that there can be no "standard" *hlonepha* terms. There *are* some *universally recognized* ones, as we have seen above, but these are not for that reason *standard*. Indeed, from all the evidence available, we can only conclude that M may, perhaps capriciously, coin a new term while there is a more commonly used one of whose existence she is aware, and which she is at liberty to use. It will be realized that, for this reason, the terms given in the list below are but illustrations of an infinite number of possibilities.

How does M adapt herself to a new linguistic environment? How does she make herself understood in a locality where the terms she uses may not be known? Naturally, terms which are universally recognized will create no difficulty, and we are therefore not concerned with these here. In answer to this question I think it best to take, as an illustration, a typical problem with which I was faced on a number of occasions during my work in Basutoland. Very often difficulty arose where an informant gave me a *hlonepha* term falling within her own sphere of observance. In one instance the informant I was talking to had to avoid the word *thaba* (mountain), in place of which she used *leketla*, whose meaning I do not know. After many vain attempts at describing the object she meant, she turned to the little girl accompanying her and asked her to tell me what *leketla* was, which she unhesitatingly did. That is how that kind of difficulty was resolved whenever there was someone near who was free from both my ignorance and my informant's prohibition. According to most of my informants, the difficulty of mutual intelligibility similar to my experience can be resolved only by one of the two methods used in my case. Under no circumstances, they say, may M disregard the taboo and pronounce a word normally avoided. But there are many instances where circumlocutions are hopelessly in-

adequate. However, her new neighbours, who will at once realize that *ha a bitse* (she does not pronounce), will be immediately alive to their responsibility (to society) in this respect, and will be as helpful as possible. This mutual feeling of responsibility makes the task lighter, and indeed pleasant, by making the impossible possible. One informant says, however, that if M has forgotten the *hlonepha* term for an avoided word, and circumlocutions are of no avail, she may whisper the forbidden word to a child, admitting to the latter that she has forgotten the substitute word. The child will then speak the forbidden word out aloud for her. This informant also states that M is not only given the names on which to base her avoidance, by her mother-in-law, but is also supplied with the *hlonepha* term appropriate in each case. But this opinion is not generally held.

An interesting point is that, according to some informants, M may write down the avoided words, if she is able to do so. This means that speaking and writing are recognized as two different symbolic systems, even though they may be interpreted in the same way.

Non-observance of *hlonepha* by a married woman is not accompanied by any manner of punishment. The observance of this custom is, among those Southern Sotho who still adhere to the tribal way of life, merely a sign of good upbringing. M's in-laws will naturally not be happy if she does not show her respect for them in the conventional way, unless it be by mutual agreement. They feel disgraced, and their affection for her may begin to cool off. Indeed they may, in time, come to dislike her intensely, and even wish her ill, in much the same way as Lear disinherited Goneril for expressing her love for him a little too prosaically for his liking. For we must make a rigorous distinction here between honest and sincere respect unaccompanied by any conventional trappings, and a mere mechanical observance of orthodox behaviour which may quite conceivably be mere sheep's clothing, amounting to nothing more than sheer flattery.

The *hlonepha* custom, especially in so far as it finds expression in linguistic behaviour, is, like all tribal customs, on the way out. One very seldom comes across cases where it is observed among urban (and other urbanized) Africans. In the few instances where it *is* observed among these people, it will almost invariably be found that the individuals concerned are old people who have spent their formative years in a tribal environment, or younger people who maintain a link of some sort with the old tribal places of abode, such as the so-called Reserves and the Protectorates, which are the last stronghold of tribalism in a rapidly changing social scene. I have heard of difficulties experienced by Post Office officials in Basutoland, when they have to ascertain the name of some individual for some purpose or other (as in the payment of pensions), and the person with whom they are dealing is not allowed to pronounce such name. Because of the absolute certainty required in such matters, observers of the custom have to disregard it in ever-increasing measure. Situations similar to this one can be multiplied over and over, and it will then be realized how impossible it is for an outmoded social system to survive the impact of a new and virile one—for tribalism, in this case, to exist side by side with twentieth century industrialism. That a social system which has become an anachronism should be tottering to its grave is both inevitable and irregrettable. What may well be a cause for regret is failure (if any) on the part of scholars to salvage from this decaying system, and preserve for humanity in general, that in it which is of permanent value: that which may contribute to the better mutual understanding among individuals and groups by showing the essential unity in all human aspirations towards an ideal society. And if this article does, in ever so small a measure, contribute towards the achievement of this goal, I shall regard my labour as richly rewarded.

* * *

The following are some of the special characteristics of *hlonepha* terms. Firstly, as already mentioned elsewhere in this article, many of these are in fact synonyms

in daily use. Additional examples to those provided before are *fuama* and *alama* (brood, hatch), *ata* and *anafala* (increase, intrans.), *tiisetsa* and *mamella* (persevere). Either of the members of each pair may be used to *hlonepha* the other.

Some words, which I here call *restricted synonyms* (i.e. those which are not completely interchangeable, e.g. "wind" and "breeze"), acquire a generality of meaning once they are used as *hlonepha* terms. Compare, in this connection, *lefafatsane* (a drizzle and *molupe* soft, steady rain), either of which, when used to *hlonepha* the word *pula* (rain), means "rain" in all its various forms. Other examples are *tsapola* (boil very gently) and *bela* (boil), *bobete* (coagulated blood) and *mali* (blood), *fokola* (be weak) and *ota* (be thin). The reverse may also be the case, a restricted synonym of general meaning being used in a more specific sense, e.g. *sefefo* (storm) used for *sefako* (hail-storm), and *hema* (breathe) for *feheloa* (breathe heavily).

Secondly, obsolete words are sometimes used as *hlonepha* terms. Examples here are *leina* which is one of the *hlonepha* terms for *lebitso* (name), cf. Tswana *leina* (name); *pitsi* which is among the substitutes for *pere* (horse); *khaebana* for *katiba* (hat); *mpshane* for *khaba* (spoon).

Thirdly, many words are borrowed from Nguni (particularly Zulu), and some from Afrikaans and English, and used as substitute terms. Examples:

From Nguni, *ncama* [phon. **ŋǂama**], used unchanged in Southern Sotho as one of the *hlonepha* terms for *ja* (eat); *boleka*, Sothoized to *boloka* [**bələk'a**], and used as *hlonepha* for *kalima* (borrow, lend).

*N.B.* Other, originally Nguni, words were apparently incorporated into Southern Sotho purely as a result of social contact between Nguni and Sotho peoples, and used as synonyms of the existing Southern Sotho terms. When the need arises to avoid the latter, recourse is often had to the acquired terms. Examples are *thanyela* used for *fiela* (sweep), cf. Zulu *tshanyela* (sweep); *menyepetsi* for *meokho, masoli, likhapha, likeleli* (tears), cf. Zulu and Xhosa *inyembezi* (a tear).

From Afrikaans, *lepel*, Sothoized to *lelepele* or *lelepole* and used as *hlonepha* for *khaba* (spoon); *kos*, Sothoized and changed into a verb by being given a verbal suffix, thus *kosa* or *kosola*, and used as *hlonepha* for *ja* (eat).

*N.B.* The note made above regarding terms acquired from Nguni applies, *mutatis mutandis*, here also, e.g. *patala* (Sothoized from *betaal*) which is now a synonym of *lefa* (pay), is used when necessary, to *hlonepha* the latter.

From English, *snake*, Sothoized to *seneke*, and used as *hlonepha* for *noha* (snake). The term *busi-busi* used as one of the substitute terms for *katse* (cat), may be related in origin to the English *pussy*, but this is purely a matter of speculation on my part.

Finally, in a number of cases, substitute terms will be found to be structurally unidentical with the words they replace. This structural difference, more often than not leads to a syntactical incompatibility of the substitute term with the speech chain out of which the avoided word is taken, the net result of which is that a new chain has to be used, or in other words, a new phrase or clause is formed. A typical illustration is that of a strong adjectival stem being replaced by a weak one, e.g. *cha* (new) replaced by *motlaboha*. Compare the following clauses:

*le lecha* (*lesela*) (a new one, i.e. cloth) replaced by *le motlaboha;*
*se secha* (*seeta*) (a new one, i.e. shoe) replaced by *se motlaboha;*
*e mecha* (*mese*) (new ones, i.e. dresses) replaced by *e motlaboha.*

In addition to the absence of the adjectival prefix in the second example of each pair, there are tonal and length differences between the relative connectives used in the two members of a pair. Other examples where strong adjectival stems are replaced by weak ones are *ketha*, substitute for *beli* (two); *khanya, mohlophe, motoatla, motoatoa*, substitutes for *soeu* (white); *bokoala*, substitute for *tle* (beautiful, handsome); *koaqela*, substitute for *tšo* (black).

Again, a noun of a given class may be replaced by one of a different class, in which case all the concords will also be changed accordingly. Examples:

*topela*, class 9, for *lebese*, class 5 (milk), cf. *Lebese* la*ne* la *ka* le *monate* le *felile—bana ba* le *noele* and *Topela* ea*ne* ea *ka* e *monate* e *felile—bana ba* e *noele* (That delicious milk of mine is finished—the children drank it). Other examples are: *mochato*, cl. 3, for *lefatla*, cl. 5 (a bald head); *boko*, cl. 14, for *hloho*, cl. 9 (head); *letsepe*, cl. 5, for *mohoma*, cl. 3 (a hoe). It would seem, however, that an attempt is always made to employ a substitute noun (or coin one) in the same class as the one which is being replaced.

* * *

*Notes on the arrangement of the word-list*

(*a*) Terms in ordinary use are given first, in alphabetical order, with their English equivalents in parentheses. Their *hlonepha* counterparts are placed in the third column.

(*b*) The more obscure *hlonepha* terms have been checked with Mabille and Dieterlen's dictionary as revised by Paroz. The following abbreviations are used to indicate the results of such checking. These appear in the fourth column:

ds = dictionary meaning is synonym of the non-*hlonepha* counterpart.

d(s) = dictionary meaning is restricted synonym of the non-*hlonepha* counterpart, or bears some other close relationship to it in meaning.

dr = dictionary meaning more or less remotely related to that of the non-*hlonepha* counterpart.

*N.B.* Where dictionary confirmation is unnecessary, the symbols s, (s), and r are used alone in this column. Where none of these abbreviations appears, this means that the *hlonepha* term is not in the dictionary. The dictionary does not make any distinction between *hlonepha* and non-*hlonepha* terms.

(*c*) Where *hlonepha* terms are etymologically or derivationally related to words in other languages, such relationship is indicated in footnotes.

(*d*) Other abbreviations used are A = Afrikaans; E = English; *hlo.* = *hlonepha;* Ng. = Nguni; NS = Northern Sotho; SD = Paroz: *Southern Sotho – English Dictionary;* SS = Southern Sotho; Tsw = Tswana; Xh = Xhosa; XhD = McLaren-Bennie: *Concise Xhosa-English Dictionary;* Z = Zulu; ZD = Doke and Vilakazi: *Zulu-English Dictionary.*

* * *

*Acknowledgements*

Most of my work in Basutoland was done at a place called *Ha Seboche*, to the east of Butha Buthe, where I was the guest of Father P. G. Brouillet of St Charles Roman Catholic Mission. I wish to express here my great indebtedness to Father Brouillet who not only gave me unstinted hospitality, but also kindly allowed me to do part of my work among the Sisters as well as among the workers in the Mission. I was acutely aware of the sacrifice at which, often enough, Father Brouillet extended these facilities to me. Whatever success I have achieved is largely due to his interest in my work.

I must thank also the Sister-Superior for her cooperation, as well as the Sisters for so willingly giving me what information they could, which constitutes a large proportion of the words I was able to record.

My gratitude goes also to the numerous informants who not only gave me information themselves, but also encouraged others to do so. Among them I may mention Mr Peter Makintane of St Peter's School, *Ha Molapo*, who put me up at his house on my way to 'Moteng; Mr Elias Molumo, headmaster of 'Moteng School, who was my host during my week's stay at 'Moteng, and also his assistant, Miss Clementina Sello.

Lastly, I wish to say how grateful I am to Professor G. P. Lestrade for his very helpful suggestions regarding the presentation of the material embodied in this essay, and for going over the original draft and making comments thereon.

## THE WORD-LIST

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *alama* | (brood, hatch) | | *fuama* | s |
| *alola* | (unmake a bed) | | *phutha* | (s) |
| *alosa* | (herd) | 1. | *lisa* | s |
| | | 2. | *khaphela* | d(s) |
| *amoha* | (dispossess) | | *nka* | (s) |
| *apara* | (wear, don) | | *sihletsa* | d(s) |
| *ata* | (increase, intr.) | | *anafala* | s |
| *babatsa* | (praise, wonder at) | | *tsota* | s |
| *baleha* | (run away) | 1. | *phalala*[1] | s |
| | | 2. | *phaphatheha* | |
| *sebata* | (wild beast) | | *nyamatsane* | s |
| *batla* | (seek) | | *tsoma* | (s) |
| *batola* | (sharpen a mill stone) | | *qoqotha*[2] | |
| *bobebe* | (light, lightness) | 1. | *chatsi*[3] | |
| | | 2. | *bòchatsi*[4] | |
| *beha* | (put) | 1. | *lulisa*[5] | (s) |
| | | 2. | *qholamisa* | |
| *bela* | (boil, intr.) | | *tsapola* | (s) |
| *mabele* | (sorghum) | 1. | *malengoa*[6] | r |
| | | 2. | *maqoaapi*[7] | |
| | | 3. | *maseqoa* | |
| *beleha* | (give birth, carry, esp. child on back) | | *pepa* | s |
| *beli* | (two) | | *ketha* | ds |
| *benya* | (shine) | | *khatsima* | ds |
| *beola* | (shave, esp. head) | | *shɑeretsa* | ds |
| *besa* (*mollo*) | (make a fire) | | *khotseletsa* | |
| *lebese* | (milk) | 1. | *khanya* | r |
| | | 2. | *leqhako*[8] | |
| | | 3. | *topela* | ds |
| *betla* | (chisel, carve) | | *fefa* | (s) |
| *bina* | (sing) | 1. | *khelekenya* | d(s) |
| | | 2. | *meketsa* | dr |
| *bitsa* | (call) | 1. | *laetsa* | r |
| | | 2. | *maola*[9] | |
| | | 3. | *memetsa* | (s) |
| *lebitso* | (a name) | 1. | *leina*[10] | |
| | | 2. | *lelaetso* | |
| | | 3. | *lemaolo* | |
| *boea* | (wool, fur) | | *bolo*[11] | |

[1]Found in Ng with r-meaning.
[2]SD has *qoqota* (knock), cf. Z *qongqotha* (knock, rap, as at door), *vide* ZD.
[3]As weak adjective.
[4]As noun.
[5]Causative of *lula* (sit).
[6]The stem *-lengoa* is passive of *lema* (cultivate).
[7]SD gives *seqoapi* (ear of corn) and *liqoapi* (kaffir corn).
[8]Cf. Z *chaga* [ǀ**haga**], *hlo.* for *senga* (milk); *uchako, hlo.* for *uɓisi* (milk). *Vide* ZD.
[9]In Z *mawula=hlo.* for *zwa* (hear) and *khuluma* (speak).
[10]Said to be original SS word for "name". Cf. Tsw *leina* (name).
[11]From A *wol* (wool).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *bohola* | (bark) | | *khonya* | r |
| *bola* | (rot) | | *puta* | s |
| *bolaea* | (kill) | 1. | *fenetha* | (s) |
| | | 2. | *nqamola* | |
| *bona* | (see) | | *sheba* | (s) |
| *bopa* | (mould, create) | 1. | *khoba* | r |
| | | 2. | *solobanya* | (s) |
| *bopa* (*polokoe*) | (mould [bread into spherical shape]) | | *tseleka* | |
| *botsa* | (ask, i.e. inquire) | | *maola*[1] | |
| *mobu* | (soil, earth) | | *mohlabathe* | (s) |
| *bua* | (speak) | 1. | *bolela*[2] | (s) |
| | | 2. | *k'holoma*[3] | (s) |
| *buha* | (skin) | | *tsoetsoeta* | |
| *cha* | (burn, intr.) | | *tlaboha* | (s) |
| *cha* | (new) | | *motlaboha*[4] | |
| *chaha* | (get good harvest) | | *sibolla* | (s) |
| *cheha* (*litlhapi*) | (bait fish) | | *lopetsa*[5] | d(s) |
| *cheha* (*linonyana*) | (trap birds) | | *pitla* | (s) |
| *cheka* | (dig) | | *jephola* | |
| *chelete* | (money) | | *tšepe* | r |
| *leeba* | (dove) | 1. | *khoroana*[6] | |
| | | 2. | *lekhoroana*[6] | |
| *ebola* | (peel, pare) | | *tsoebola* | s |
| *eketsa* | (increase, trans.) | | *phaella* | s |
| *ela* | (clear up) | | *sa* | s |
| *moepa* | (ascent) | | *moqasa* | s |
| *esele* | (donkey) | 1. | *pokola* | (s) |
| | | 2. | *tonki*[7] | |
| *eta* | (go visiting) | | *chaka* | s |
| *seeta* | (shoe) | 1. | *moqathatso* | (s) |
| | | 2. | *seqathatso* | |
| | | 3. | *seqatholo*[8] | |
| *etsa* | (do) | | *loka* **[lək'a]** | |
| *lefa* | (inheritance, heritage) | | *letlotlo* | |
| *faha* | (put meal in boiling water) | | *tlhaliela*[9] | |
| *sefaha* | (string of beads) | | *sekhama*[10] | s |
| *sefaha* | (single bead) | | *tona* **[t'una]** | ds[11] |
| *sefako* | (hail, hail-storm) | 1. | *sefefo* | (s) |
| | | 2. | *sekhohola* | (s) |
| *fala* | (scrape) | | *hopa* | s |
| *falla* | (emigrate) | | *sutha* | (s) |

[1]Cf. *bitsa* above. Supplied by different informants.
[2]Cf. NS *bolela* (speak).
[3]From Z *khuluma* (speak). Restricted in daily use in SS to folktales with *Limo* as central figure.
[4]Apparently a noun formed from vb. stem *tlaboha*, and then used as weak adjective.
[5]Cf. Ng *loba* (catch fish by hook). *Vide* XhD and ZD.
[6]Cf. *leeba-khoroana* (turtle dove).
[7]From E donkey.
[8]From Z *isicathulo* (shoe, sandal).
[9]SD has *hlaliela* (to pour water in).
[10]Cf. *khama* (choke, strangle, throttle).
[11]SD specifies "*big* bead". Cf. adj. stem *tona* (big, male).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *fanyeha* | (hang, trans.) | 1. *phanyeha* | s |
| | | 2. *tloletsa* | (s) |
| *fapana* | (quarrel) | *qabana* | s |
| *fariki* | (pig) | 1. *kolobe* | s |
| | | 2. *touana* | |
| *fata* | (scoop out) | *hopa* | (s) |
| *sefate* | (tree, stick) | 1. *lere* | (s) |
| | | 2. *thupa* | (s) |
| *lefatla* | (bald head) | *mochato* | r |
| *fatše* | (on the ground) | 1. *bolulo* | r |
| | | 2. *qhese* | |
| *lefatše* | (earth, ground) | *leqhese* | |
| *fefera* | (winnow) | *bulula* | r |
| *feheloa* | (breath heavily) | *hema* | (s) |
| *fehla* | (churn) | 1. *thokhohla* | |
| | | 2. *thukhutha*[1] | |
| | | 3. *tsokotsa* | r |
| *fela* | (get finished, come to an end) | 1. *nyamela* | r |
| | | 2. *qeteha* | s |
| *fetoha* | (turn about, change, intr.) | *reteleha* | s |
| *fiela* | (sweep) | 1. *chalaka* | |
| | | 2. *thanyela*[2] | ds |
| *lefielo* | (broom) | *lethanyelo* | |
| *lefifi* | (dark, darkness) | 1. *koaqela* | |
| | | 2. *bolotho*[3] | |
| | | 3. *botšo* | (s) |
| *fihla* | (arrive) | *batha*[4] | |
| *fofa* | (tly) | *rura* | s |
| *lefu* | (sickness, death) | 1. *bohloko* | (s) |
| | | 2. *mokhohlane* | (s) |
| *futhumala* | (feel warm) | *qhesemala* | |
| *haha* | (build) | 1. *hloma* | (s) |
| | | 2. *tsepamisa* | (s) |
| *lehaha* | (cave) | *motlaeea* | r |
| *bohale* | (adj. stern; n. sternness, anger) | *lehla*[5] | |
| *hama* | (milk) | *chapitsa* | (s) |
| *hana* | (refuse) | 1. *halala* | (s) |
| | | 2. *tsoafa* | r |
| *hapa* | (capture) | 1. *khanna* | (s) |
| | | 2. *rebola* | ds |
| *hata* | (trample) | *tlapunya*[6] | (s) |
| *mohatla* | (tail) | *mosela* | s |
| *lehe* | (egg) | 1. *khanya ea khoho* | |
| | | 2. *leqanda*[7] | |

[1]SD has *thukutha* (shake).
[2]Cf. Z *shanyela*, Xh *tshayela* (sweep).
[3]Cf. Z *lotha* (die out, as a fire), *vide* ZD.
[4]SD gives only ideophone *batha* with s-meaning.
[5]A weak adj. when used adjectivally.
[6]SD gives ideophone *tlapu* with s-meaning.
[7]Cf. Ng *iqanda* (egg).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *hela* | (mow) | 1. *nyepa* | |
| | | 2. *seha* | (s) |
| *hlaba* | (pierce, stab) | *nyeba* | d(s) |
| *lehlaba* | (sharp pain) | *lenyeba*[1] | |
| *lehlabathe* | (sand) | *lepoqo* | ds |
| *mohlabelo* | (medicine rubbed into incisions by medicine-man) | *monyabelo* | |
| *sehlabelo* | (sacrificial offering) | *senyabelo* | |
| *lehlabo* | (thatching needle) | *letole* | s |
| *lehlafi* | (door) | *lemati* | s |
| *hlaha* | (appear, be born) | 1. *nyara* | |
| | | 2. *nyarela* | (s) |
| *hlaha* | (wild) | 1. *belete*[2] | |
| | | 2. *setsetse*[2] | |
| *lehlaka* | (reed) | *lenokolo* | |
| *hlanya* | (be mad) | *kopola*[3] | |
| *lehlanya* | (madman) | 1. *lekopo*[4] | |
| | | 2. *malekopo*[4] | |
| *hlaola* | (hoe) | 1. *khitla* | d(s) |
| | | 2. *nehena*[5] | r |
| *hlapa* | (wash oneself) | 1. *hatlela* | s |
| | | 2. *sola*[6] | ds |
| *hlapisa* | (wash someone else) | 1. *sola* | |
| | | 2. *solisa* | |
| *hlatsoa* | (launder) | 1. *photla* | s |
| | | 2. *tsokotsa* | (s) |
| *mahlo* | (eyes) | *matalimo*[7] | |
| *hloho* | (head) | 1. *boko* | r |
| | | 2. *qeko*[8] | |
| *hloloa* | (be worsted) | 1. *imeloa* | s |
| | | 2. *sitoa* | s |
| *bohobe* | (bread) | *phaate* | |
| *hobela* | (perform tribal dance) | *alola* | s |
| *mohobelo* | (tribal dance) | *sealolo* | s |
| *lehola* | (weeds) | *khinyane* | |
| *mohoma* | (a hoe, a plough) | *letsepe*[9] | |
| *mohope* | (calabash) | 1. *molaofane* | |
| | | 2. *sephoko* | s |
| | | 3. *moqephe* | ds |
| *leifo* | (fireplace) | 1. *sebeseletso*[10] | |
| | | 2. *sebesetso*[10] | |
| *seiponi* | (mirror) | *seichebo* | s |

[1]Noun formed from *nyeba*.
[2]Both weak adjectives. *Belete*<A *wild* (wild). *Setsetse*=wild cat.
[3]Probably from A, via *malekopo*, from *malkop* (madman). See fn. 3.
[4]*malekopo* obviously from A *malkop*; *lekopo* presumably a further modification.
[5]SD gives meaning "to shake (for instance, a plant taken out of the ground").
[6]SD gives it as trans. vb., so more appropriate as used immediately below.
[7]From *talima* (look).
[8]Probably related etymologically to Xh *isiciko* (cover, lid).
[9]Probably related etymologically to Ng *izembe* (adze, axe).
[10]SD has *sebeso* with s-meaning. Cf. *besa* (make a fire).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ja* | (eat) | 1. *futa* | (s) |
| | | 2. *kosa*[1] | |
| | | 3. *kosola*[1] | |
| | | 4. *maea*[2] | |
| | | 5. *ncama*[3] | |
| *lijo* | (food) | 1. *lifuto*[4] | |
| | | 2. *limaeo*[4] | |
| *joala* | (beer) | 1. *boratholo*[5] | |
| | | 2. *mahleu* | r |
| | | 3. *lekanti*[6] | |
| *joang* | (grass) | *bohelo*[7] | |
| *lejoe* | (stone) | 1. *lefika* | (s) |
| | | 2. *lekao*[8] | |
| | | 3. *lenepolo*[9] | |
| *kalima* | (borrow, lend) | 1. *boloka*[10] | |
| | | 2. *anana* | (s) |
| | | 3. *kopa* | (s) |
| *katiba* | (hat) | 1. *khaebana* | (s) |
| | | 2. *tlhoro* | s |
| *katse* | (cat) | 1. *busibusi*[11] | |
| | | 2. *mokhalinyana* | |
| | | 3. *maphakane* | |
| | | 4. *mosia* | d(s) |
| | | 5. *thaha-lere* | (s) |
| *kena* | (enter) | 1. *nyoetlela/nyotlela* | |
| | | 2. *tjoliela* | |
| *mokete* | (feast) | 1. *morero* | (s) |
| | | 2. *mosito*[12] | |
| | | 3. *motlatla* | |
| *kha* | (draw liquid) | 1. *nyaola* | (s) |
| | | 2. *nyepa* | (s) |
| *khaba* | (spoon) | 1. *lelepele/lelepole*[13] | |
| | | 2. *mpshane* | s |
| *khama* | (choke) | *fenetha* | (s) |
| *khanya* | (a light; shine) | *banya* | |
| *khaoha* | (break, snap) | *pomeha* | s |
| *likhapha* | (tears) | *menyepetsi*[14] | s |
| *khasa* | (crawl) | *sepela*[15] | r |
| *khathatseha* | (be troubled) | 1. *itšoenya* | (s) |
| | | 2. *tšoenyeha* | s |

[1]From A *kos* (food).
[2]Cf. Z *maya, hlo.* for *dla* (eat).
[3]Cf. Z *ncama* (eat before commencing a journey). *Vide* ZD.
[4]Nouns from *futa* and *maea* respectively.
[5]SD gives only *rathola* (brew beer) from which this noun comes.
[6]Originally Sothoized from E canteen.
[7]Cf. *hela* (mow).
[8]Probably from *kaea*, one of *hlo.* terms for *sila* (grind). Cf. Z *gaya* (grind).
[9]Cf. *nepola* (grind something wet).
[10]Sothoized from Ng *boleka* (borrow, lend).
[11](?) From E pussy.
[12]Cf. Z *umsindo* (noise, din, uproar).
[13]From A *lepel* (spoon).
[14]Cf. Ng *inyembezi* (tear).
[15]Cf. NS *sepela* (walk).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *khetha* | (choose) | 1. *hloaea* | s |
| | | 2. *nyaka*[1] | |
| *likhobe* | (boiled mealie grains) | *litlaba* | |
| *khoeli* | (moon, month) | 1. *nyaka*[2] | |
| | | 2. *toloka*[3] | |
| *khoho* | (fowl) | *kibi*[4] | |
| *khomo* | (head of cattle) | *tjepa*[5] | |
| *lekhooa* | (Whiteman) | *lebase*[6] | |
| *khora* | (be full) | 1. *phenama* | d(s) |
| | | 2. *tlala* | (s) |
| *lekhotla* | (court, council place) | 1. *sebaea* | ds |
| | | 2. *khoali* | (s) |
| | | 3. *qheme*[7] | |
| *khotso* | (peace, contentment) | 1. *nyakallo* | (s) |
| | | 2. *thabo* | (s) |
| *koae* | (tobacco) | *motsoko* | |
| *koala* | (shut) | 1. *binqela*[8] | |
| | | 2. *pheqela*[8] | ds |
| *bokoala* | (cowardice) | 1. *boi* | s |
| | | 2. *ho tšaba* | s |
| *kobo* | (blanket) | 1. *netso* | |
| | | 2. *kaparo* | (s) |
| | | 3. *mophoso* | (s) |
| | | 4. *lesihla* | r |
| *koeneha* | (change one's mind) | *phethoha* | s |
| *kola (tsie)* | (gather locusts) | 1. *phothoma (tsie)* | (s) |
| *sekola* | (egret) | 1. *sehlomo* | r |
| | | 2. *ramaoeng* | |
| *koloba* | (get wet) | *fafaletsoa* | (s) |
| *koloi* | (waggon) | *lebaea* | |
| *komello* | (drought) | *letsapa* | dr |
| *kopana* | (meet) | 1. *bokellana* | s |
| | | 2. *qhobela* | (s) |
| | | 3. *teana* | s |
| *mokopu* | (pumpkin) | 1. *peqe* | |
| | | 2. *solotsi* | (s) |
| | | 3. *tjoto* | d(s) |
| *sekotlolo* | (dish, basin) | *tjetje* | |
| *koto* | (club) | *tšukulu* | (s) |
| *kotula* | (reap) | 1. *phutha masimong* | s |
| | | 2. *roba* | (s) |
| *kuba* | (rise, of smoke) | 1. *qoba* | |
| | | 2. *thunya* | (s) |
| *kuta* | (cut hair, shear) | 1. *beola* | (s) |
| | | 2. *qheba*[9] | |

[1]Cf. NS *nyaka* (seek).
[2]Cf. Ng *inyanga* (moon, month).
[3]As ordinary term, refers to full moon.
[4]From A *kiep*, used in calling fowls.
[5]SD gives meaning "ox".
[6]From A *baas* (master).
[7]Cf. *moqheme* (a rather shabby old round hut).
[8]Apparently variations of the same word.
[9]Cf. Xh *cheba* (shave off hair, shear sheep).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *mala* | (intestines) | | *mathopo*[1] | ds |
| *lahleha* | (get lost) | | *tjebeha* | d(s) |
| *molamu* | (stick) | 1. | *nduku*[2] | |
| | | 2. | *sepolo* | (s) |
| | | 3. | *mosaqa* | (s) |
| | | 4. | *toko*[3] | |
| *lapa* | (courtyard) | | *seotloana* | s |
| *molapo* | (brook) | | *noka* | (s) |
| *molato* | (crime, guilt) | | *letjala*[4] | s |
| *lebala* | (forget) | | *khohloa*[5] | |
| *lebella* | (watch) | | *shebella* | s |
| *leboha* | (express thanks) | 1. | *boka*[6] | s |
| | | 2. | *tankisa*[7] | |
| *lefa* | (pay) | 1. | *busetsa* | (s) |
| | | 2. | *fa mpho* | r |
| | | 3. | *patala*[8] | |
| | | 4. | *phethisa* | r |
| *leka* | (try) | 1. | *eka* | r |
| | | 2. | *etsa* | |
| *bolekana* | (billy-can) | | *koqa* | ds |
| *leleka* | (chase away) | | *tebela* | s |
| *lelekisa* | (pursue) | 1. | *kitimisa* | s |
| | | 2. | *mathisa* | (s) |
| | | 3. | *phalalisa* | s |
| *lema* | (plough) | | *khatha* | (s) |
| *lemala* | (get accustomed to) | | *tloaela* | s |
| *selemo* | (year) | | *jara*[9] | ds |
| *lilemo* | (years) | | *likhecho*[10] | |
| *mali* | (blood) | | *bobete* | (s) |
| *selibeng* | (at the fountain) | 1. | *mothonjene*[11] | |
| | | 2. | *mothotjene*[11] | |
| *lieha* | (delay) | | *sisitheha* | (s) |
| *lila* | (plaster) | 1. | *manyatsa* | |
| | | 2. | *rita* | r |
| *lelimo* | (cannibal) | | *lesholu* | r |
| *lla* | (cry) | 1. | *bokolla* | (s) |
| | | 2. | *k'hala*[12] | |
| *mollo* | (fire) | 1. | *mokhantšo* | ds |
| | | 2. | *motlabolo*[13] | |

[1]Cf. Ng *amathumbu* (intestines).
[2]An unmodified acquisition from Ng. SS does not have combination *nd* in its sound system. Cf. fn. 4.
[3]Sothoization of *nduku* which follows the sound law that SS *t* normally corresponds to Ng *nd*. Cf. fn. 3.
[4]Cf. Xh *ityala* (crime, guilt).
[5]Cf. Ng *khohlwa* (forget).
[6]Cf. Z *bonga* (express, thanks).
[7]From A *dankie* (thank you).
[8]From A *betaal* (pay).
[9]From A *jaar* (year).
[10]Presumably *lijara* could also be used, but no informant gave this.
[11]From Ng *emthonjeni*, loc. of *umthombo* (spring or fountain), the second form having reached a further stage of Sothoization than the first. Apparently **mothopo* corresponding to Ng *umthombo* is not used.
[12]From Ng *khala* (cry).
[13]From *tlabola* (singe).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *sello* | (a cry) | | *seboko* | (s) |
| *loana* | (fight) | 1. | *fapana* | (s) |
| | | 2. | *qabana* | (s) |
| *loha* | (weave, plait) | 1. | *nyabela*[1] | |
| | | 2. | *nyahatsa* | |
| *loea* | (bewitch) | 1. | *shoqa* | |
| | | 2. | *thakatha*[2] | ds |
| *moloi* | (witch, wizard) | 1. | *moshoqi*[3] | |
| | | 2. | *mothakathi*[3] | |
| *bolokoe* | (cow dung) | 1. | *khapane* | r |
| | | 2. | *lisu* | (s) |
| *molomo* | (mouth) | 1. | *moqamotho*[4] | |
| | | 2. | *sefuta*[5] | |
| *lora* | (to dream) | 1. | *phofa* | (s) |
| | | 2. | *pota* | (s) |
| *lula* | (sit) | 1. | *phomola* | r |
| | | 2. | *seqa* | |
| *luma* | (resound) | | *kiritla* | (s) |
| *molumo* | (loud sound) | | *mokiritlo* | |
| *lumelisa* | (greet) | 1. | *morisa*[6] | |
| | | 2. | *qhaola*[7] | |
| *mochini* | (machine) | | *moterapo*[8] | |
| *folae-machini* | (aeroplane) | | *moterapane*[8] | |
| *makala* | (be surprised) | | *tsieloa* | s |
| *matha* | (run) | 1. | *kitima* | s |
| | | 2. | *titima* | s |
| *moea* | (wind) | | *maelane* | |
| *naha* | (country, veld) | | *tsoapo* | |
| *nako* | (time) | | *mpaka* | |
| *nalete* | (needle) | | *nabole* | |
| *nama* | (meat) | 1. | *chachola* | |
| | | 2. | *qatso* | |
| | | 3. | *tsamotsa* | |
| *namane* | (calf) | | *lebotlana*[9] | |
| *monate* (adj.) | (nice) | | *hlabosing* | s |
| *ngata* (adj.) | (many) | 1. | *bokaneng* | (s) |
| | | 2. | *bokellaneng* | (s) |
| *ngoana* | (child) | | *motoana*[10] | |
| *ngoeli* | (moon) | 1. | *nyaka*[11] | |
| | | 2. | *toloka*[11] | |
| *mangole* | (knees) | | *matolo*[12] | ds |

[1]Cf. Z *nyaba* (plait, weave).
[2]From Ng *thakatha* (bewitch).
[3]Nouns from *shoqa* and *thakatha* respectively.
[4]SD gives only *qamota* (speak much, endlessly; rave). Cf. Z *qamunda* (speak volubly). *Vide* ZD.
[5]Noun *futa*, *hlo.* for *ja* (eat).
[6]From A *môre* (morning) and used, *inter alia*, as a verb in SS.
[7]From Z *xhawula* (shake by the hand). *Vide* ZD.
[8](?)From A *trap* (to treadle).
[9]SD gives *mabotlana* with r-meaning.
[10]From Ng *umntwana* (child).
[11]See *khoeli* (p. 173).
[12]From Ng *amadolo* (knees).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *nkho* | (waterpot) | 1. *nyaolelo* | |
| | | 2. *nyatsiba* | |
| *nko* | (nose) | *pomolo*[1] | |
| *nku* | (a sheep) | 1. *kare* | |
| | | 2. *tsoma* | |
| | | 3. *tsomane* | ds |
| *monna* | (man) | *tota*[2] | ds |
| *meno* | (teeth) | 1. *masapo* | (s) |
| | | 2. *masenyo*[3] | |
| *noa* | (drink) | *photsa*[4] | |
| *senoelo* | (drinking vessel) | 1. *mochupu* | (s) |
| | | 2. *sek'hona* | (s) |
| *noha* | (snake) | 1. *khanyapa* | (s) |
| | | 2. *seneke*[5] | |
| | | 3. *monyabalatsi*[6] | (s) |
| *nona* | (become fat) | 1. *hola* | (s) |
| | | 2. *tiha* (*i.e. tiea*) | (s) |
| *notši* | (bee) | *bobolane*[7] | |
| *ntja* | (dog) | 1. *khophela* | |
| | | 2. *nyalasi* | ds |
| *ntlo* | (house) | *tjeka* | |
| *ntoa* | (fight, war) | *faqane* | (s) |
| *ntša* | (take out) | *thalosa*[8] | d(s) |
| *nyanya* | (suck) | 1. *khamotsa* | ds |
| | | 2. *tsoikela/tsukela* | |
| *nyatsa* | (criticize) | *hana* | (s) |
| *nyeoe* | (law-suit) | *litaba* | (s) |
| *oa* | (fall) | *tosoha* | |
| *seolo* | (anthill) | *sefika* | r |
| *olosa* | (winnow) | 1. *phahamisa* | (s) |
| | | 2. *phephetha* | (s) |
| *ota* | (be thin) | *fokola* | (s) |
| *seotlo* | (court-yard) | 1. *seboea* | d(s) |
| | | 2. *lapa* | s |
| *maoto* | (feet) | 1. *manyao*[9] | |
| | | 2. *manyathelo* | ds |
| | | 3. *manyathoho*[10] | |
| | | 4. *litlhako*[11] | |
| *palama* | (ride) | *kalla* | s |
| *patollong* | (on a bare, grassless place) | *patlaokeng*[12] | |
| *pela* | (rock-rabbit) | *tase*[13] | |

[1]From Ng *impumlo* (nose).
[2]From Ng *indoda* (man).
[3]From Ng *amaziŋyo* (teeth).
[4]From Ng *phuza* (drink).
[5]From E snake.
[6]SD gives *monyabalasi* (a long, tall animal).
[7]Cf. *bobola* (hum, buzz).
[8]SD gives meaning "to draw (a tooth)".
[9]Cf. Ng *unyawo* (foot).
[10]Cf. *nyathoha, hlo.* term for *tsamaea* (walk).
[11]Lit. "hooves".
[12]SD has *lepatlaoko* (bare place between tufts of grass).
[13]From A *dassie* (rock-rabbit).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *pere* | (horse) | 1. *halai/halau* | (s) |
| | | 2. *lehashe*[1] | ds |
| | | 3. *katola* | ds |
| | | 4. *koatola* | d(s) |
| | | 5. *pitsi* | ds |
| *phapang* | (quarrel) | *qabano* | s |
| *phate* | (skin spread on ground) | 1. *moalo*[2] | |
| | | 2. *lekupana* | d(s) |
| | | 3. *motjabeho* | |
| *pheha* | (cook) | *tlhatleha* | s |
| *phoofolo* | (animal) | *nyamatsane* | (s) |
| *pitsa* | (pot) | 1. *tlhatleho*[3] | |
| | | 2. *tšepe* | (s) |
| *pitsa* (*e ritellang*) | (pot for brewing in) | *setlhotlelo*[4] | |
| *pitso* | (meeting) | 1. *seboka* | s |
| | | 2. *lemememetso*[5] | |
| | | 3. *letšolo* | r |
| *poli* | (goat) | *memetsane* | |
| *poone* | (mealies) | *chaake* | ds |
| *mopotjoana* | (ornamental clay-pot) | 1. *moqakoloana* | |
| | | 2. *tlhatlehoana* | |
| *potlaka* | (hurry) | 1. *akofa* | s |
| | | 2. *tjakota* | |
| *lepotla-potla* | (great hurry) | *matjato* | d(s) |
| *pshatla* | (break) | *bolaea* | s |
| *pula* | (rain) | 1. *lefafatsane* | (s) |
| | | 2. *molupe* | (s) |
| | | 3. *netha* | d(s) |
| | | 4. *takotso*[6] | ds |
| *putsoa* | (grey) | *sethobocha*[7] | |
| *leqeba* | (wound) | *letoma* | d(s) |
| *qhoaela* | (secure with a pin) | *qhobosheisa*[8] | |
| *qoba* | (avoid) | *phema* | s |
| *moraha* | (kraal dung, especially when liquid after rain) | *seretse* | (s) |
| *rata* | (like, love) | *loka* **[lək'a]** | |
| *lerata* | (noise) | 1. *mokhosi* | (s) |
| | | 2. *rase*[9] | |
| *reka* | (buy) | *fumana* | r |
| *rekisa* | (sell) | *bapatsa* | s |
| *rema* | (cut with axe) | 1. *kaea* | ds |
| | | 2. *kapa* | s |
| *morena* | (chief, king) | *khosi* | s |

[1]From Ng *ihashe* (horse).
[2]From *ala* (spread).
[3]Cf. *tlhatleha* for *pheha* above.
[4]Cf. *tlhotla* (strain beer).
[5]SD gives *memetso* (call, invitation).
[6]SD gives in addition the vb. *takotsa* (rain).
[7]SD has *thobosha* (speckled).
[8]SD has *qhobosha* (pin). Cf. Xh *qhoboṣha* (same meaning).
[9]From A *raas* (make a noise).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *moriana* | (medicine) | 1. *mothe*[1] | |
| | | 2. *sethebero*[2] | |
| *ritela* (*joala*) | (brew beer) | 1. *khella* | |
| | | 2. *rathola* | s |
| *moriti* | (shade) | 1. *lesoiti* | (s) |
| | | 2. *motheo* | |
| *meriti* | (shades) | *methehela* | |
| *seriti* | (shadow) | 1. *lesoiti* | |
| | | 2. *motheo* | |
| *roala* | (carry on head) | *qholamisa* | |
| *roalla* | (gather fuel) | *thetsa*[3] | |
| *roba* | (break) | *toatlatsa* | s |
| *robala* | (sleep) | 1. *ala* | r |
| | | 2. *khaleha* | (s) |
| *moroho* | (vegetable) | *mopeto* | |
| *lerole* | (dust) | *lehlabathe* | (s) |
| *lerumo* | (spear) | *koebe* | (s) |
| *lesaka* | (kraal) | 1. *sebaea* | ds |
| | | 2. *moliro*[4] | |
| | | 3. *motero* | d(s) |
| *mosali* | (woman) | *mofase*[5] | |
| *sama* | (rest head on pillow) | *qamela*[6] | |
| *mose* | (dress) | 1. *khathola* | d(s) |
| | | 2. *roko*[7] | ds |
| *seba* | (whisper, slander) | *nyenyetsa* | ds |
| *mosebetsi* | (work) | *'mereko*[8] | d(s) |
| *seha* (*nama*) | (cut, e.g. meat) | *khabela* | s |
| *seha* (*lelapi*) | (cut, e.g. cloth) | *tabola* | (s) |
| *lesela* | (cloth) | *lelapi* | ds |
| *leseli* | (light) | 1. *banya* | |
| | | 2. *khanya* | s |
| *moseme* | (grass mat) | 1. *moalo* | d(s) |
| | | 2. *leqase*[9] | |
| | | 3. *leqoaapi* | |
| | | 4. *motolo* | r |
| *sesepa* | (soap) | *senyala* | |
| *sesa* | (swim) | 1. *hlapa* | s |
| | | 2. *phukha* | ds |
| | | 3. *qaputsa* | r |
| *shoa* | (die) | 1. *akheha* | r |
| | | 2. *timela* | s |

[1]From Ng *um(u)thi* (i.a. medicine).
[2]SD gives *thebere* (all the drugs of a witch-doctor; medicines).
[3]From Ng *theza* (gather large quantities of fuel).
[4]Probably a corruption of *motero* given by other informants.
[5]From Ng *umfazi* (woman).
[6]From Ng *qamela* (rest head on pillow).
[7]From A *rok* (a dress).
[8]From A *werk* (work). First the vb. is Sothoized to *bereka* and then a cl. 3 noun formed, thus: *mobereko* > *mmereko*, which is written *'mereko*.
[9]Cf. Z *ucansi* (mat).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *mosi* | (smoke) | 1. *khoholi* | |
| | | 2. *kholi* | d(s)[1] |
| | | 3. *mothintšo* | |
| *siea* | (leave behind) | *nqana/qana* | |
| *sila* | (grind) | 1. *kaea*[2] | |
| | | 2. *nepola* | (s) |
| | | 3. *thuha* | r |
| | | 4. *thuma* | ds |
| | | 5. *thumisa* | (s) |
| *masimo* | (ploughed fields) | *manyatlo* | ds |
| *sireletsa* | (protect) | *haeletsa* | s |
| *sisinya* | (shake, trans.) | *khoba* | |
| *bosiu* | (night) | 1. *boletho* | |
| | | 2. *bolotho*[3] | |
| *sesiu* | (grain basket) | *selolo* | |
| *soeu* | (white) | 1. *khanya* | r |
| | | 2. *mohlophe*[4] | |
| | | 3. *motoatla* | |
| | | 4. *motoatoa* | ds |
| *soka* | (mix, stir) | *fuluoa* | s |
| *lesokoana* | (stirring stick) | *lefuluo* | |
| *litaba* | (news, affairs, case) | 1. *nyeoe* | (s) |
| | | 2. *lipolelo* | (s) |
| *tali* | (field rat) | *toeba* | (s) |
| *talima* | (look) | *sheba* | s |
| *litaola* | (divining bones) | *masapo* | (s) |
| *litapole* | (potatoes) | *masambane*[5] | |
| *tau* | (lion) | 1. *jemo* | |
| | | 2. *tlelima* | |
| *teba* | (sink) | *nyamela* | (s) |
| *letebele* | (Zulu tribesman) | *lencichela*[6] | |
| *matekoane* | (dagga) | *'moana* | ds |
| *litelu* | (beard) | 1. *libarete*[7] | |
| | | 2. *matšoala* | (s) |
| *thaba* | (rejoice) | *nyakalla* | s |
| *thaba* | (mountain) | 1. *leketla*[8] | |
| | | 2. *ketle*[8] | |
| | | 3. *loti* | s |
| | | 4. *qhooa* | (s) |
| *thakhisa* | (put medicated pegs in ground to ward off evil) | *mapa* | |
| *lithakhisa* | (medicated pegs) | *limapo*[9] | |
| *thapo* | (grass rope) | 1. *nyabelo* | |
| | | 2. *nyahatso* | |

[1]SD says "smoke of a gun".
[2]Cf. Z *gaya* (grind).
[3]See *hlo.* for *lefifi* above.
[4]From Ng *mhlophe* (white). All *hlo.* terms given here are used as weak adjectives.
[5]From Z *amazambane* (potatoes).
[6]The first *c* represents the dental click, while *ch*, as always in SS, represents phon. **tsh**.
[7]From A *baard* (beard).
[8]Cf. Z *ugedla* (precipitous face of mountain). *Vide* ZD.
[9]SD has *semapo* (peg).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *sethebe* | (grinding mat) | 1. *seqabole* | |
| | | 2. *sesilelo*[1] | |
| *theepe* | (kind of wild vegetable) | *mpoea*[2] | |
| *letheka* | (waist) | *seholoholo* | (s) |
| *thella* | (slip) | 1. *chiphiritsa* | s |
| | | 2. *ritsa* | (s) |
| *theoha* | (descend) | *heleha* | ds |
| *motheo* | (a slope) | *mohele* | |
| *thipa* | (knife) | *mochomolo* | |
| *lethisa* | (uninitiated girl) | 1. *lekoele* | s |
| | | 2. *leqoeqoe* | |
| *motho* | (person) | *mosotho* | (s) |
| *thola* | (be quiet) | 1. *imamela* | (s) |
| | | 2. *khaohana* | (s) |
| *tiisetsa* | (persevere) | *mamella* | s |
| *tima* | (stint) | *kona* | s |
| *tla* | (come) | *boea* | (s) |
| *se-tla-bocha* | (i.a. khaki bush) | *senkhane* | |
| *matlakala* | (bits of dry grass) | *maulu-ulu* | ds |
| *tlala* | (become full) | *phenama* | ds |
| *tlala* | (hunger) | 1. *sekoboto* | s |
| | | 2. *lephafu* | ds |
| | | 3. *tapo*[3] | |
| *tlali* | (thunder-bolt) | 1. *nonyana* | s |
| | | 2. *phēo-lephatšoa* | |
| *letlalo* | (skin, hide) | *lekoko* | s |
| *tlamela* | (tie up for) | *fasetsa* | s |
| *tle* | (beautiful) | *bokoala*[4] | s |
| *tlhapi* | (fish) | *nyatsoli* | |
| *tlhotla* | (strain, esp. beer) | 1. *foqa*[5] | ds |
| | | 2. *tšoatšoatsa* | |
| *motlhotlo* | (woven grass strainer) | 1. *mofoqo* | |
| | | 2. *motšoatšoatso* | |
| *tloaela* | (get accustomed to) | *lemala* | s |
| *tloha* | (remove oneself) | *sutha* | s |
| *tlotsa* | (smear, anoint) | *nyobotsa* | |
| *letša* | (pool, lake) | *letamo*[6] | d(s) |
| *tšaba* | (be afraid) | 1. *babatsa* | |
| | | 2. (*ho*) *ba boi* | s |
| | | 3. *boifa*[7] | |
| | | 4. *qoaea* | s |
| *tsamaea* | (walk, depart) | 1. *nyapotsa* | ds |
| | | 2. *nyathoha* | ds |
| | | 3. *nyathola* | |
| *tseba* | (know) | 1. *nepa* | (s) |
| | | 2. *qeta* | (s) |

[1]From vb. *silela* (grind into or onto).
[2]Probably corruption of *poea* which has s-relationship to *theepe*.
[3]Noun from *lapa* (become hungry).
[4]SD gives meaning "beauty (of a person)". It is a noun which may be used as a weak adjective.
[5]Cf. Ng *foca* (squeeze out, press out, express). *Vide* XhD and ZD.
[6]From A *dam* (dam).
[7]Cf. Tsw *boifa* (be afraid).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *tsebe* | (ear) | | *qhamotso* | |
| *litsebe* | (ears) | | *limamelo*[1] | |
| *tšeha* | (laugh) | 1. | *keketeha* | (s) |
| | | 2. | *bobotheha* | (s) |
| | | 3. | *qaboleha*[2] | (s) |
| *tšeha* | (pair of drawers) | | *moqato* | s |
| *tseka* | (to dispute) | | *baka*[3] | |
| *tsela* | (road, path) | | *nyatho* | |
| *tšela* | (pour) | | *potlela* | (s) |
| *letsema* | (work-party) | 1. | *leaqa* | |
| | | 2. | *lemuloana*[4] | ds |
| *metsi* | (water) | | *manyabolo* | ds |
| *tsie* | (locust) | | *seongoane* | d(s) |
| *tsietsi* | (difficulty, trouble) | 1. | *mohau* | r |
| | | 2. | *kotsi* | (s) |
| *tšilo* | (grinding stone) | 1. | *nepolo*[5] | |
| | | 2. | *thumo*[5] | |
| *tšimo* | (ploughed field, garden) | | *nyatlo*[6] | |
| *tšo* | (black) | 1. | *fipha*[7] | |
| | | 2. | *koaqela* | |
| *tsoa* | (come out, come from) | | *thaloha* | d(s) |
| *letsoai* | (salt) | | *monokoa*[8] | |
| *tsoala* (*ha motho*) | (give birth, of a human being) | | *pepa* | s |
| *tsoala* (*ha ntja*) | (give birth, of dog) | | *nyella* | s |
| *tšoara* | (catch, seize) | | *kabaqa*[9] | |
| *tšoarela* | (forgive) | | *kabaqela* | |
| *letsoele* | (breast, udder) | 1. | *'mele* | (s) |
| | | 2. | *lenyantšo*[10] | |
| *tšoene* | (baboon) | 1. | *bobojane*[11] | ds |
| | | 2. | *'mantahane* | |
| | | 3. | *moakhi* | |
| | | 4. | *koaqa* | |
| | | 5. | *kororo* | |
| *motsoetse* | (nursing mother) | | *mohlesana*[12] | |
| *tsoha* | (get up) | | *khoaphoha* | s |
| *tšoha* | (get startled) | | *khoaphoha* | r |
| *letsoho* | (hand, arm) | 1. | *seatla* | s |
| | | 2. | *lenyabeelo* | |
| *letsoku* | (red ochre) | | *roitlelepe*[13] | |

[1]From vb. *mamela* (listen).
[2]From *qabola* (amuse).
[3]Cf. Ng *ɓanga* (to dispute).
[4]SD says "work done by a few people together; little *letsema*".
[5]From *nepola* and *thuma* respectively. See under *sila* above.
[6]SD gives *lenyatlo* with s-meaning.
[7]SD gives only ideophone (*ho re*) *fipha*, with (s)-meaning.
[8]From *noka* (season with salt or sugar).
[9]SD gives *qabaka* with s-meaning. Obviously a case of metathesis.
[10]From *nyantša* (suckle).
[11]From A *bobbejaan* (baboon).
[12]From Ng *umdlezana* (nursing mother).
[13]From A *rooi klip* (lit. red stone).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *tšola* | (remove pot from fire; dish up) | *tlhatlolla* | ds |
| *tsoma* | (hunt, look for) | *batla* | s |
| *tšosa* | (startle, scare) | *tsoibila* | r |
| *motsu* | (a point) | *ntlha* | s |
| *tsuba* | (smoke) | *pema*[1] | |
| *tuka* | (burn, as a fire) | *laima* | (s) |
| *setulo* | (chair, seat) | *seseqo*[2] | |
| *tuma* | (become famous) | *ata* | r |
| *utloisisa* | (understand) | *fihlela* | r |
| *utsoa* | (steal) | *tjotja*[3] | |

## PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

The Editorial Committee gratefully acknowledges receipt of the publications listed below, during the period 1 March 1958 to 15 August 1958. Reviews are published as circumstances permit, but no undertaking can be given that every book received will be reviewed in *African Studies*.

DEKKER, A. M., and J. H. RIES: *Woordeboek: Afrikaans-Zoeloe, Zoeloe-Afrikaans*. Afrikaanse Pers-Boekhandel, Johannesburg. 1958.

DELANO, Isaac O.: *Atúmò Ede Yoruba* (*A Short Yoruba Grammar and Dictionary*). Oxford University Press, London & Cape Town. 1958.

DOKE, C. M., D. McK. MALCOLM and J. M. A. SIKAKANA: *English-Zulu Dictionary*. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg. 1958.

FAGE, J. D.: *An Atlas of African History*. Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, London. 1958.

FAIR, T. J. D.: *A Planning Survey of the Southern Transvaal* (*The Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging Area.*) The Government Printer for the Natural Resources Development Council, Pretoria. 1957.

FIRTH, RAYMOND (ed.): *Man and Culture: An Evaluation of the Work of Malinowski*. Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, London. 1957.

GLUCKMAN, MAX: *Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand*. Manchester University Press for The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka. 1958.

GUIART, JEAN: *Espiritu Santo* (*Nouvelles Hébrides*). Librairie Plon, Paris. 1958.

HELANDER, GUNNAR: *Must We Introduce Monogamy?* Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg. 1958.

HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE J. and FRANCES S.: *Dahomean Narrative: A Cross-Cultural Analysis*. Northwestern University Press, Evanston. 1958.

HOPEN, C. EDWARD: *The Pastoral Fulbe Family in Gwandu*. Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London & Cape Town. 1958.

JAMALIDDINI, ABDUL KARIM BIN: *Utenzi wa Vita vya Maji-Maji*. East African Swahili Committee, Kampala. 1957.

LAMBERT, H. E.: *Chi-Jomvu and Ki-Ngare* (*Sub-dialects of the Mombasa area*). East African Swahili Committee, Kampala. 1958.

[1]From Z *bema* (smoke).
[2]Cf. vb. *seqa, hlo.* for *lula* (sit) given above.
[3]From Z *ntshontsha* (steal).

LEIRIS, MICHEL: *La possession et ses aspects théâtraux chez les Ethiopiens de Gondar.* Librairie Plon, Paris. 1958.

MACLAREN, P. I. R.: *The Fishing Devices of Central and Southern Africa.* Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone. 1958.

MADALA, A.: *AmaNqakwana emfundiso yeziBhalo eziNgcwele.* Oxford University Press, Cape Town. 1958.

SHEPPERSON, GEORGE, and THOMAS PRICE: *Independent African (John Chilembwe and the Nyasaland Rising of* 1915). Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd, Edinburgh. 1958.

STOPA, ROMAN: *From Clicks to Expiratory Consonants I.* Lingua Posnaniensis, Poznan. 1957.

STOPA, ROMAN: *The Energy Producing Speech and the Types of Phonetic Systems.* Prace Krakowskiego Komitetu Orientalistycznego Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Kraków. 1957.

THOMAS, BENJAMIN E.: *Trade Routes of Algeria and the Sahara.* University of California Press. 1957.

THOMPSON, EDGAR T.: *The Plantation: A Bibliography.* Social Science Section, Department of Cultural Affairs, Pan American Union, Washington. 1957.

VAN EEDEN, B. I. C.: *Zoeloe-Grammatika.* Universiteitsuitgewers en Boekhandelaars Edms. Bpk., Stellenbosch. 1956.

WHITELEY, W. H.: *A Short Description of Item Categories in Iraqw (with material on Gorowa, Alagwa and Burunge).* East African Institute of Social Research, Kampala. 1958.

————————: *International Bibliography of Social and Cultural Anthropology. Volume I.* Unesco, Paris. 1958.

————————: *Quinquennial Report* 1952-57. East African Swahili Committee, Kampala. n.d.

————————: *The Future Growth of World Population.* Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. 1958.

————————: *Yearbook on Human Rights for* 1955. Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. 1958.

## RECENT PORTUGUESE PUBLICATIONS

*From* Dr M. D. W. Jeffreys,
Johannesburg.

Readers of this journal may be interested to know of the following two monographs in Portuguese that have recently been published in Lisbon. One is a study (153 pages) of the blood groups, Rhesus factors, sickle cells, etc., of the indigenous population of the Cape Verde Islands. The other (243 pages) deals with the ethnography of South West Angola. The literature on the indigenous inhabitants of this area is scanty and this monograph is a very welcome addition. Three groups of pre-Bantu survivors are recorded, namely a small colony of Gupes, a large colony of Cuissis and four colonies of Bushmen. Then there are numerous Bantu groups.

The titles of the monographs are:

1. *Estudos, Ensaios e Documentos XXXII; Seroantropologia das Ilhas de Cabo Verde mesa Redonda Solve o homem Cabo-Verdiano* by A. Lessa e J. Ruffie. Lisbon, 1957.
2. *Etnografia do Sudoeste de Angola: Vol. I: Os Povos Não-Bantos e o grupo étnico dos Ambo's* by Padre Carlos Estermann, C.S. Sp. Porto, 1956.

## NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

Our printers, The Natal Witness (Pty) Ltd., are now equipped with the following range of symbols in Monotype Old Style, 11 pt. **bold face,** for linguistic work:

VOWEL SYMBOLS

**a e i o u  à è ì ò ù  á é í ó ú  â ê î ô û  ā ē ī ō ū  ä ë ï ö ü**
**A E I O U  À È Ì Ò Ù  Á É Í Ó Ú  Â Ê Î Ô Û  Ā Ē Ī Ō Ū  Ë**
**ă ĕ ĭ ŏ ŭ  ã ẽ ĩ õ ũ  ą ę į ǫ ų  ȁ ȅ ȉ ȍ ȕ  ą̂ ę̂ į̂ ǫ̂ ų̂**
**ą̌ ę̌ į̌ ǫ̌ ų̌  ɛ ɛ̀ ɛ́ ɛ̃  ə ə́ ə́ ə̃  æ ɔ œ  ɪ ɪ ɔ ø ʊ ʏ**

CONSONANT SYMBOLS

**b ɓ ß  c ç  d ɖ ɗ ɖ̦ ð  f ʃ ɸ  g ɣ g̱  h ɦ  j ǰ  k k̲  l ɭ ɭ̦ ɬ ɮ**
**B Ɓ  C  D  F  G  H  J  K  L**

**m m̀ ḿ m̂ ɱ  n ǹ ń n̂ ɳ  ɲ ɲ̀ ɲ́  ŋ  ŋ̀ ŋ́  p  q  r ɾ̀ ɾ ɾ̂ ʈ**
**M  N  P  Q  R  ɾ**

**s ʂ ɕ š ʃ  t ʈ ʈ̦ θ  v ʋ  w  x  y  z ʐ ʑ ž ʒ  ʔ  ʘ  ǀ  ǁ  ǃ  ǂ  ! ɕ // ɔ**
**S  Σ  T  V  W  X  Y  Z**

TONE MARKS

**1[¯] 2[-] 3[-] 4[-] 5[_] 6[˨] 7[˧] 8[˩] 9[˄]**

OTHER SIGNS

**Ø > < ∞ ~ ***

Less comprehensive ranges of symbols are available in Monotype Old Style 11 pt. roman and *italic;* and, for footnotes, in 8 pt. **bold,** roman and *italic*. We propose to add to the ranges of special symbols as and when it may become necessary to do so. However, in the interests of economy in editorial work and in publication costs, contributors are requested, in papers and reviews involving the use of such symbols, to limit themselves as far as possible to the series listed above, and furthermore to use them as sparingly as possible in footnotes.

A complete list of all special symbols and signs required for an article or review should always be submitted with the typescript.